

A
T O U R
THROUGH THE
BATAVIAN REPUBLIC
DURING
THE LATTER PART OF THE YEAR 1800.

CONTAINING
*AN ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLUTION AND RECENT
EVENTS IN THAT COUNTRY.*

By R. FELL.

Quid verum, atque decens curo et rogo,
Et omnis in hoc sum.

HORAT. EPIST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. PHILLIPS, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.
SOLD BY T. HURST, AND WEST AND HUGHES, PATERNOSTER-
ROW; CARPENTER AND CO. OLD BOND-STREET; E. BALFOUR,
EDINBURGH; AND J. ARCHER, DUBLIN.

1801.

[T. Davison, White-Friars.]

T. O. U. H.

RELATIVE DEGREE

THEORY OF THE

RELATIVE

THEORY OF THE RELATIVE

BY H. B. SWIFT

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following letters were, in part, written during the Tour which they describe, with a view to publication. They were addressed to my Brother, and to that circumstance must be attributed the use of the word *you*, wherever it incongruously appears.

To many of my statements, I have avoided giving the authority of the Names of the Persons from whom I derived them; in all such cases I have been influenced by this motive:—recently established and feeble governments are often tyrannical, and were I to name the persons from whom I had my information, when I speak of the Batavian Government with censure, I might probably expose to disagreeable consequences most deserving individuals.

March 31, 1800.

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TOUR
THROUGH THE
BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

LETTER I.

Capture of the Author on the coast of Yorkshire, by a French privateer.—Character of the prize-master and his crew : their ignorance of navigation. The Dutch pilot : his advice.—Arrival off the Briel.—Politeness and hospitality of the Dutch commodore.—Account of the Briel.—The tree of liberty.—The face of the country.

Briel, October, 1800.

IF the intelligence of our capture has not already reached your town, you will be greatly surprised at receiving a letter from this place, when you expected us safe arrived in London. Scarcely twelve hours of favourable wind had wafted us from your port, when we perceived, at about the distance of two miles, a

French corsair, in the act of capturing an English vessel. The sight, you may believe, alarmed us, who were unfurnished with any means of defence, and could not hope to escape by flight from a vessel built for purposes of swiftness and fight. At this time there were perhaps thirty ships in sight, any of which it was in the corsair's power to capture ; and I indulged the hope that in his selection of a prize, we might have the good fortune not to be the object of his choice. Appearances for some time flattered this hope : there was a brig near us, which carried more external marks of opulence about her than we bore, and it was this vessel, rather than ours, which the Frenchman chased. There was something in this state of suspense and uncertainty peculiarly distressing : as we might hope to escape, every one, I believe, thought himself privileged to represent the evils of capture in the worst possible light ; whereas, the moment it became inevitable we should be taken, with such facility does the human mind accommodate itself to circumstances, every person became

became endowed with a large portion of sullen resignation, which answered all the purposes of fortitude, and is indeed, in men of ordinary habits of thinking, a substitute quality for that virtue.

Poor —— felt almost nothing for herself; but her sympathy was deeply excited for Captain ——, whose share of the vessel, purchased by the accumulations of many years of industrious frugality, was uninsured. His was the loss of property which it had been the labour of his life to obtain; it was a little store for the winter of his days, to provide for the wants of existence, when age and infirmities demand the quiet of indolent ease. The crew also claimed a large tribute of her sorrow: each eagerly told his history, and received his share of pity. They were all of them men who maintained large families by their industry; and I was pleased to find, that the concern which they felt for the distresses which their wives and children would suffer from their absence, in this season of awful scarcity, was unspeakably superior to any feeling of a personal consideration. I can

love with all the partial affection of friendship the rudest of Nature's sons, when I perceive in him those delicate charities of affiance, which bind the individual to his family; and I consider those acts of public virtue which are founded upon violations of parental and private affection, as criminal offences against the holiest laws of nature.

Our flag was struck on the firing of a musket, the only gun I ever heard (as the sailors term it) fired in anger, the sound of which yet tingles in my ear; and a boat from the corsair immediately took possession of our vessel. The captain and crew, with the little baggage which they were allowed to take away with them, were then carried on board the Frenchman; and it was in contemplation that the passengers, consisting of three females * and myself, should follow them; but as I was persuaded we should be exposed to much inconvenience and distress on board a vessel that was crowded with men,

* The wife of the Writer of these Letters, to whom, with the sincerest affection, he inscribes them; their servant; and a poor woman who was returning from the country to her family in London.

and devoid of accommodations, and I had an opportunity of remonstrating with the captain of the republican on the subject, I prevailed on him, though not without difficulty, to permit us to remain in the prize. I now learned that the name of the corsair was *The Chasseur*, Captain Blackman, of Dunkirk, and that her depredations on the English coast had been uncommonly successful.

The whole business of our capture was over in little more than half an hour, and with unspeakable foreboding and oppression of heart, I saw the vessel steer from the English coast. The high lands of Yorkshire, towering in the clouds, were in sight, and with eager eyes I gazed on them till they appeared to sink in the water. What, under other circumstances, would have been a spectacle which I should have admired, chilled my soul. There is something congenial to an ardent mind in whatever displays the spirit of adventure and courage. On former occasions my departure from land, and rushing on the broad bosom of the deep, have filled me with sublime and solemn emotions : the receding

hills, the vast expanse of water, which the vessel proudly ploughed, have seemed to me a scene of triumph—the triumph of man over an hostile element. But now I was torn from my connections, my home, and my country ; and in the power of men whose character it has been to aggravate the infelicities of war. Though I gained in all the finer feelings of the heart, I lost something of the independence of manhood, by having for the companion of my misfortune that person with whose pleasures and sorrows mine are so intimately blended, that I feel the evil with tenfold weight in which she participates. Alone, if I could not have been a hero, I could have been a stoic, but there was not a fear which she suggested, such is the electricity of affection, and the blind respect we pay to the feelings of those we love, that I did not view with horror which almost amounted to the torture of real suffering.

The Frenchmen who had charge of the vessel, consisted of a prize-master and three sailors. I have rarely seen persons of worse countenances: I enquired, and found they
were

were all natives of Dunkirk, and had never been at Paris, or I should have conceived they had been active in some of those scenes which, in the early stages of the revolution, outraged humanity, and disgraced that city. But that character of features which alarmed me, might easily be attributed to local circumstances. Dunkirk is the resort of desperadoes and outlaws from various nations, who in peace subsist by carrying on a contraband trade with England, in war by capturing vessels; and the occupations of smuggling and privateering being invariably attended with a very considerable degree of danger, and often with little concern for the claims of humanity, the persons so engaged acquire a cast of countenance, which I cannot otherwise distinguish than by saying, it partakes of the assassin and the robber.

Neither the countenance, however, of my prize-master, nor his sailors, gave me half the alarm that I felt at the discovery of their utter ignorance of navigation, and the art of managing a ship. The evening was stormy, and at midnight it blew a severe

gale of wind, with a rough dangerous sea. The terms which I should use, were I describing our situation to a naval person, would be unintelligible to you; nor indeed can I boast of much facility in displaying my nautical knowledge. I shall therefore shorten my detail by simply observing, that for thirty hours the vessel was in the last degree of danger, merely through the unskilfulness and ignorance of the Frenchman. We were within two leagues of the coast of Holland, and in six fathoms of water, before they thought of heaving the lead, nor would it then have occurred to them as a thing that was necessary, had I not succeeded in persuading them they were not far from land. Such an instance of stupidity rarely occurs, on a shore so proverbially dangerous as the coast of Holland; where innumerable shoals, lurking under water, long before the land is visible, threaten with destruction the incautious mariner.

Cleanliness, I believe, is not a virtue for which the sailors of any nation are to be commended, there is generally something
about

about them to offend more than one sense, and no class of men are less attentive to personal delicacy. Our Frenchmen were the most disgusting as well as the most ignorant of their profession.

The Dutch pilot who came on board, at the mouth of the Maese, gave me at first no very favourable idea of the reception we should meet with in his country. A fishing vessel belonging to him had been destroyed the preceding year by the fleet under admiral Mitchel, and his son was a prisoner in England. He was offended at an orange-coloured shawl, which —— unfortunately wore, and he represented himself and his countrymen as the bitterest enemies of the English name. This conversation passed, it is proper to inform you, in the presence of the prize-master. The pilot had indeed suffered by the English, and his son was a prisoner; but his animosity against our nation was of the mildest kind, it was the cordiality of friendship, compared with the aversion which he expressed to the French. Speaking of the ignorance of the
prize-

prize-master and his crew, he assured me that our danger had been infinitely greater than I suspected; many vessels had lately been lost near where the Frenchmen ventured without any of the usual precautions of navigation. He spoke good English, and was of great service to us by pointing out the measures necessary to be taken to preserve our property from the rapacity of the republican sailors.

We came to anchor off Briel (or the Briel, as it is called, though for what reason I know not) in the afternoon, and were immediately visited by boats from the shore and guard-ships. I was informed we should not be permitted to land, till an order for that purpose had been received from the government; but I immediately waited on the Dutch commodore, and on representing to him how ill we were accommodated, he promised to take us on board his own ship the next day. I obtained also from him a guard for the security of our persons and property, and he politely sent us such refreshments

ments as he judged would be most agreeable to us, after the fatigues of our passage, and the indisposition which persons generally feel from the sea, who are unaccustomed to the motion of the waves.

My Frenchmen were extremely indignant that we should be thus under the protection of the Batavian government, for they considered us in some sort as exclusively their property, and had, after the fashion of their rulers, determined to levy on us a contribution either in specie or apparel. But the presence of two robust Hollanders defeated their intentions, and their resentment was confined to idle menaces and impotent threats. It is the custom of private vessels of war, of other nations as well as the French, to pillage the passengers who are so unfortunate as to fall into their hands; but complaints of this kind would be less frequently made, were the persons so taken to apply immediately for protection to the constituted authorities of the place whither they are carried: men who have obtained a certain rank and character in life, are rarely disposed to permit

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mit open violations of justice, however they may be inclined to connive at private injuries to the rights of individuals.

We are now with commodore —, prisoners of war, till passports arrive from the Hague, either remanding us to our own country, or granting us permission to see whatever is most remarkable in the Batavian republic. Since the fortune of war has conducted me hither, and it is little probable that business, necessity, or pleasure, should ever lead me again to this part of the continent of Europe, I am resolved, if I can obtain permission, to profit by the occasion, and make the tour of the United Provinces. I say the United Provinces, because the Batavian republic has not yet obtained a place in our maps and gazetters; and to the one I associate something that is great and heroic, whereas the other conveys to my mind no favourable ideas. I shall therefore probably when I meet with objects which please me, speak of them as belonging to the United Provinces, or the contrary as belonging to the Batavian republic. I have no disinclination

to admit that the latter appellation is the most classical; but I am sorry that name should be abolished, which was bestowed on this country by those heroes who most vigorously defended their liberties against the gigantic forces of the Spanish monarchy, and established a wise and salutary system of freedom, which became the admiration of surrounding nations.

By the indulgence of commodore —— we have been on shore about two hours at the Briel. It is a fortified place, but of inconsiderable strength*. Since the English expedition last year, they have repaired the ramparts, and constructed new batteries. I ought to mention that a chain of fortifications extends from the mouth of the Maese to this town, which would render it extremely difficult and dangerous for an enemy to effect a landing, and signal posts, beacons, and telegraphs, are thickly scattered over the

* The Briel was the first town which revolted from the authority of Philip the Second, and its inhabitants are, with justice, proud that their ancestors led the way to the independence of the United Provinces.

country, so that an alarm would instantly be given and widely circulated, on the appearance of an hostile fleet.

Near the great church stands the tree of liberty, surmounted with a huge tin hat, which is decorated with the tricoloured ribbon. Various emblematic figures, painted more wretchedly than the hopes and angels on the sign-boards of our hedge ale-houses, are attached to the branches; and long scrolls of Dutch verses, to the merits of which I am not competent to speak. But, alas! the tree is withered and dead. I should imitate the folly of the persons who planted and ridiculously nicknamed the tree, were I to say more than I believe that few trees, of a certain age and growth, survive transplantation, and that the death of this tree was nothing more than the natural consequence of its removal. I congratulate myself that I do not belong to a nation which can be amused with such insipidities.

The face of the country, the appearance of the people, and what I have seen of their houses, are quite as different as I expected
to

to find them, from what I have seen in England or abroad. The country exhibits a wonderful display of the mighty effects which human industry is capable of achieving. It is an extensive territory, rich in agriculture, and crowded with cities, rescued by the vast efforts of man from the dominion of the sea*. From the deck of the vessel, on board of which I write this letter, the prospect of cultivated and pasture

* Goldsmith's description of Holland, in his *Traveller*, is equally to be admired for the beauty of the poetry, and the fidelity of the picture.—

To men of other minds my fancy flies,
Embosomed in the deep where Holland lies.
Methinks her patient sons before me stand,
Where the broad ocean leans against the land,
And, sedulous to stop the coming tide,
Lift the tall rampires' artificial pride.
Onward, methinks, and diligently flow,
The firm, connected bulwark seems to grow ;
Spreads its long arms amidst the wat'ry roar,
Scoops out an empire, and usurps the shore :
While the pent ocean, rising o'er the pile,
Sees an amphibious world beneath him smile;—
The flow canal, the yellow-blossom'd vale,
The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail,
The crowded mart, the cultivated plain—
A new creation rescued from his reign.

I cannot conceive what the poet means by "the yellow-blossom'd vale," but the rest of the description is uncommonly happy and animated.

lands,

lands, of towns and villages, extends, far as the eye can reach, uninterrupted by the least inequalities of ground ; and the ship floats on a vast mass of water, some feet above the meadows, where numerous flocks are grazing. I ought to inform you, that I speak of what is the appearance of the country when the tide is at its height ; but at low water I am told the sea is near above a foot higher than the level of the earth, so that dykes of an astonishing magnitude and solidity are necessary to preserve them from the most dreadful inundations.

LETTER II.

Civility of the Dutch Commodore: singular learning of his chief Officer.—A Batavian patriot: his suspicions and rudeness.—Dutch tardiness.—The unpleasantness of detention.—The great influence of the French in Holland.

October, 1800.

I SHOULD speak of our accommodations on board the commodore, which indeed are elegant and convenient, had not his politeness and incessant attention to our wants paramount claims on my notice. He omits nothing to render our stay with him agreeable, and has entirely succeeded in making us forget whatever is unpleasant, in idea or reality, in being brought hither against our inclination, and detained as prisoners. The captain of another ship of war, a veteran of approved courage, whose countenance is full of expressions of honesty and philanthropy, is equally assiduous to contribute to our plea-

tures; and as they both speak either English or French with considerable fluency, we find no difficulty in communicating our ideas. They are both men of good information, and well read in English and French literature. But I shall pass over their mental acquirements, which are truly respectable, to introduce you to one of the most extraordinary persons I ever met with, the first officer of the commodore's ship. A learned sailor seems to border upon the marvellous, but nearly the whole of this man's life was spent at sea, and the extent of his reading is such as is rarely obtained by those who pass their lives in the tranquil cultivation of letters. I have not often seen a man better acquainted with ancient authors than he is; but for his intimate knowledge of the whole circle of modern literature he stands unrivalled. I was not able to name an English author of reputation with whose works he was not critically acquainted. He had read the most difficult of our poets with an attention which could not have been bestowed on them, had he not been sensible of their beauties; and his
intimacy

intimacy with the novels of Smollet and Fielding, shewed the great progress he had made towards conquering the difficulties of our language. His acquaintance with French literature had not debauched his taste; his veneration for Shakspeare was unweakened by the flimsy cavils of Voltaire, and he readily assigned the palm of heroic excellence to the illustrious Milton. My knowledge of German letters is confined to the authors whom I have read through the medium of translation, and with these, and others whose names have not reached me, he is familiar: but this ought not to excite much surprise, as the Dutch language has a great affinity to the German, and the literary poverty of his own country probably first led him to cultivate the learning of a people whose manners and genius approximate to those of his own nation. I feel some diffidence in praising his acquirements in French and Italian literature, because the narrow compass of my own knowledge leads me to distrust my judgment; but he discoursed without caution or vanity on all the authors in either language

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which I had read, and displayed an extent of reading, which, but for the simplicity and openness of his character, I should have been induced to suspect.

Yet with this variety of reading, and most singular powers of memory, his conversation is dull, I had almost said unprofitable. He has retained every thing which he has read, but digested not one particle: he has collected most amply, but made no arrangement of his stores. His mind seems like a vast repository of furniture, where the elegancies of the drawing-room and the necessaries of the kitchen are promiscuously crowded together; every thing is there which can minister to your wants, or contribute to your pleasures, but all is in disorder and confusion. The principal fault of this person is, that he is utterly unacquainted with his own powers; and to this I attribute his almost total want of imagination and arrangement. I, as it were, obliged him to converse with me, and he is fond of speaking English, or the laudable pride of superior attainments would not lead him to display his acquisitions.

Yesterday

Yesterday a party from the shore dined with the commodore in compliment to us, and in the evening we had a little concert. Our harmony, however, had near been interrupted by a Dutch colonel, a furious patriot, who was enraged to the last degree of indignation, that the commodore should heap civilities on the bitter foes of the Batavian republic. Every Englishman was a dangerous person; and those very circumstances which precluded suspicion, ought to awaken the most vigilant caution. If we were not actually spies, situation and opportunity might make us; and he did me the honour to insinuate, that the more than common share of curiosity and observation which I appeared to possess, alarmed him greatly. The illiberality of this person was not confined to the insinuations which I have already mentioned, or virulent abuse of the English nation through the medium of French and Dutch ballads, but he attempted to wound us where the means of defence were less in our power—by drawing a conclusion destructive of female character, from the circumstance that I wore

mourning, when —— was dressed in colours, —— I am heartily vexed to say, because it implies a censure on persons whom I really value and respect, that the ridiculous fears and violent prejudices of this Batavian have done us some disservice. I have learnt that he is a person of authority in the Briel—one of the municipality ; and that kind of difficulty has occurred to prevent us from taking the walk on shore this morning which we proposed, that I shall not ask the same favour again.

The post is arrived which we thought would bring us passports from the Hague; but, a pest on Dutch tardiness, which under every form of government I believe will remain the same, we are disappointed. This mortification is the more distressing, as it is altogether dubious whether it will be determined that we must return by the first conveyance to England, or permission will be granted us to view the republic. The former would be extremely unpleasant to me, as there are many places in the United Provinces which I have an eager curiosity to see ; but principally because I am anxious to obtain
complete

complete information respecting the present state of the country, and the influence which the conquest of the French has had on the character of the people. I have heard complaints that the former government was arbitrary, and perhaps they were well founded; but the present I suspect is both oppressive and arbitrary, and without energy or dignity. I am desirous to see what are the effects of French principles on a nation so sober and phlegmatic as the Dutch have always been represented; whether those theories of liberty which pleased me when a youth, and which I still most fervently admire, are, when reduced to practice, as delightful and invaluable as an ardent and unsuspicious mind conceived them to be.

There is something in confinement, call it detention, or by a milder term, which I revolt at; and I think that confinement on ship-board is worse than in a prison or a lazaretto, though I do not speak from personal experience. I never knew a person of sentiment and delicacy who could endure a ship, unless indeed they have been early

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habituated

habituated to a seafaring life, and in a like manner reconciled to its disgusting circumstances, as custom leads us to admire those tastes which the unsophisticated palate cannot tolerate.

Our friendly commodore has been at Helvoetsluys, to confer with the admiral, his commanding officer, respecting us, and we are offered a cartel to return immediately to England; but we cannot go on shore until permission is obtained from the higher authorities. It is told me, that application to the French minister at the Hague, as we were captured by a privateer of his nation, would be the readiest method to procure passports, but I should submit with pleasure to the mortification of a longer detention than it is probable we shall have, rather than wound, in the slightest degree, the feelings of those under whose generous protection we are. The exercise of few of the prerogatives which belong to an independent nation is permitted to the Dutch; and I believe we should immediately be released, were it not apprehended that such a measure might be offensive to the persons

sons employed by the French government in Holland. I mean no censure here on the character of M. Simonville the French ambassador, who is represented to me as a person of the greatest liberality and candour, and an utter stranger to arrogance or prejudice; but the persons to whom I allude are the inferior servants of the French republic—men tainted with too many of the vices of the revolution.

LETTER

LETTER III.

End of the Author's detention through the means of General Chorié.—Impoverished state of Maastrandsluys.—Road to Delft.—The artillery of General Chorié's brigade.—Character of the General.—The environs of Rotterdam.—State-house of that city.—George the Second.

Rotterdam, Oct. 1800.

WHEN I concluded my last letter, I did not imagine we should be so speedily released from our honourable confinement, and that impression, perhaps, threw a tincture of peevishness into what I wrote; I feel the consciousness, however, of this so slightly, that I deem no other apology necessary, than to say, that the man whose compositions, delineating situation and character, are not affected by present circumstances and personal sensibility, is a writer whose acquaintance I am little disposed to cultivate.

Our

Our detention would probably have been protracted a week or longer, had not General Chorié, who commands the French troops in Rotterdam and the isles of Goree and Vorn, learnt our situation at the Briel, and interested himself to be useful to us. We travelled in his voiture from the Briel to Rotterdam, and he has charged himself to obtain for us whatever passports are necessary.

At Maastrandiluyts, formerly a fishing town of great opulence, I observed the most distressing symptoms of impoverishment and decay. The harbour was crowded with fishing vessels, no longer employed, and many of them unserviceable through neglect, or the absolute inability of their owners to keep them in repair, which in peace collected the wealth of the ocean, and made half the nations of Europe tributary to the industry of Holland. The quay was covered with long grafs, and a melancholy assemblage of beggars importuned us for relief, wherever we walked. Many of the best houses of the town were uninhabited, and it was with difficulty that we procured post-horses to carry us to Delft: we were delayed
near

near two hours, and should probably have had a longer detention, but a French general is a person of too great consequence in Holland to tolerate the accidents which happen with impunity to ordinary travellers, and his remonstrances had due influence with the inn-keeper.

The road from Maastrandsluys to Delft is by the side of a canal, through a country well cultivated and fertile. The extinction of their commerce has perhaps turned the attention of the Dutch to agricultural pursuits: and war, by increasing the price of every article of human sustenance, encourages and rewards their diligence: but they have fallen into an error, which is at this moment too prevalent in England---of employing their land rather in feeding cattle than raising corn. Their farms, too, are larger than I could have wished to have seen them, and none of those smiling cottages appear, which beautify the English landscape. Their farm-houses are neat and substantial dwellings, and the persons who inhabit them, an honest and respectable looking race of beings, not at all deserving the appellation
of

of boors, in the sense to which we apply it. But I much doubt whether, in the whole circle of the United Provinces, any thing is to be found, either belonging to the peasants or their habitations, which approximates in the least to rural elegance, or that bewitching simplicity of taste which mocks the progress of false refinement.

We passed through Delft at a time which afforded us an opportunity of seeing the flying artillery attached to General Chorié's brigade. The appearance of the men and horses was wretched in the extreme, but Chorié assured me their discipline was excellent ; and they had, the preceding year, when the English invaded Holland, rendered very important services to the republic. They had also gathered laurels in Germany. But their squalid countenances and tattered clothing furnished me rather with the idea of scarecrows than soldiers. Their artillery, however, was formidable : twelve long brass field-pieces, carrying shot of six pounds weight, or a proportionate quantity of musket-balls, were capable, in the hands of so expert artillerymen

tillerymen as the French are universally allowed to be, of doing prodigious execution in the close ranks of an enemy. The successes of the French in Germany and Italy are pretty confidently attributed to the vast superiority of their artillery; but, though they have brought that branch of military science to a high degree of perfection, I am persuaded they are less indebted to it for their victories, than to the superior numbers which they have always brought into the field, and the extraordinary genius of their military leaders.

Chorié is a lively Frenchman from Languedoc, though I should rather have supposed from Gascony, who has seen much service in various quarters of the globe, and is firmly attached to the revolution. I know not how to reconcile the assiduous attention which he pays us, and the many civilities we receive at his hands, with the rooted animosity which he bears to the English nation. We are a people against whom he could wage eternal war. Yet there are many individuals of our nation, for whom he either entertains a
personal

personal esteem, or values for the reputation which they enjoy by the united suffrages of Europe. He would have apologised to me for a sentiment which I was shocked at, by transferring his odium from the nation to the government ; (the practice of the Jacobins and revolutionary committees) ; but I admire the constitution of my country, and the legal, wise, and salutary government which emanates from it, too cordially to be flattered by the sophistry which persuades me to separate myself from the constitutionally-established government of my country; and however I may dislike corrupt and feeble administrations, my attachment to the constitution of my country remains unimpaired.

From Delft to Rotterdam the road is agreeably diversified with neat villages, and a variety of country seats and houses of retirement in the truest Dutch taste. It is, like the road from Maastrandfluys to Delft, on the dyke of the canal, so that the carelessness of the driver might throw his carriage into the water, or precipitate it into the fields, which in some places

places are between five and six feet below the level of the road. This I believe never happens, but the apparent danger is sufficient to excite the anxiety of timorous travellers; and the badness of the road, which is made without gravel and abounds in deep ruts, keeps alive their fears.

At a distance, Rotterdam appears a well-built and extensive city, and the approach to it displays the opulence and industry of its inhabitants. The number of mills, principally for sawing timber, in the suburbs, is prodigious; but few of them were at work, though the weather was extremely favourable, and some were in a state so ruinous, that they must have long been unemployed. The sawing-mills are inventions of the greatest utility, both for abridging the labour of man, and performing work with the neatest accuracy. They are lofty and somewhat agreeable erections, the mill generally rising from the top of a substantial building two or three stories high, and of a sufficient altitude to give its necessary rotundity a light and airy appearance. Some of them are
painted

painted in a whimsical taste, and others adorned with grotesque figures, according to the fancy or wealth of their respective proprietors.

We are lodged at present at General Chorié's head-quarters, formerly the State-house, at present the Central-bureau, where the French commander resides, and the municipality of Rotterdam hold their sittings. It is a spacious, solid, but ill-constructed building. As an Englishman, it possesses a secret recommendation to me, which I should be sorry not to mention. It was the occasional residence of George the Second, when he visited his Hanoverian dominions, and has been dignified by the presence of other of our princes of the blood. Time, the impartial analyser of reputations, has set his seal on the character of George the Second. We may praise him, without the suspicion of venality ; or censure, uninfluenced by the prejudices of party. He was a sovereign endowed with many princely virtues :—he was brave in the field, prudent in the cabinet, frugal of the public revenue, and jealous of the national honour. Dur-

ing his long reign, justice was administered with impartial equity in his courts ; nor did the prerogatives of the sovereign ever interfere with the rights of the subject. His attachment to his German possession has been censured by those who repined at the prosperity which the nation enjoyed under his government ; but this attachment was the natural result of early association and partiality : and I admire, rather than reproach, the monarch for blending with the exercise of his high authority the feelings and sympathies of a man. The chamber we slept in, was formerly called Koning Kamer, or the King's chamber ; but this appellation being incompatible with republican simplicity, it is no longer distinguished from the other apartments of the house.

Since our arrival here, we have undergone a slight examination, *pro forma*, before the French consul of the place, General Chorié, and the Batavian commissary ; and passports have been granted us, with equal readiness and politeness, for three decades, which will afford us a sufficient time to see whatever is
most

most remarkable in the United Provinces. We quit General Chorié's quarters to-morrow, to lodge at the Swine's Hoof, a respectable inn in the great market-place, where the consul has obligingly hired apartments for us. It is necessary, I am informed, in this country, if you intend to reside for any length of time in a place, to make a previous agreement with the innkeeper for the price which you must pay for your apartments; for otherwise he will be inclined to charge you at an exorbitant rate, and as no redress can be obtained, their demands must be paid without abatement.

LETTER IV.

Rotterdam—Its convenient situation for trade—The impoverished state of its commerce.—A singular preference given to cloth of English manufacture.—Amicable system of privateering.—Corfairs belonging to British subjects which sailed under the French flag.—Abuses corrected by Bonaparte.—The streets of Rotterdam.—Architectural taste of the Dutch.—Statue of Erasmus.—Consternation with which the progress of the French armies was viewed at Rotterdam.—Flight of the English servants.—Arrival of the French.—The municipality.—Anecdotes of marigolds and oranges.—The concert.—The theatre.—Religion.—Public charities.

October, 1800.

ROTTERDAM is the second commercial city in the republic, and has suffered least in the general calamities of the country. It is well situated for commercial purposes, being placed on the bank of the Maese, a
river

river competent to all the uses of navigation, and of a magnificent breadth. The principal streets are intersected with canals, of a sufficient depth to receive vessels of from two to three hundred tons burthen, which greatly facilitates the trade of the place, as ships are enabled immediately to deliver their cargoes into the warehouses appointed to receive them, and at an inconsiderable expence of time and labour, compared with the obstructions of trade in the port of London and elsewhere. The merchant also enjoys the advantage of having the ships, which either belong to or are consigned to him, delivered under his direct eye; so that he can at the same time attend to the concerns of his office, and vigilantly observe that he does not suffer through the indolence or embezzlement of his servants.

According to the report of a very intelligent and judicious merchant, whose acquaintance I have had the good fortune to obtain, Rotterdam does not at present enjoy a tenth part of the commerce which she possessed before the French invasion, and the inter-

ruption of her intercourse with Great Britain. Before the war, it sometimes happened, that three hundred English vessels were seen at one time within the port of Rotterdam; and this number was certainly exceeded by the ships belonging to the place and those of other nations. At present the number of neutral vessels in the harbour do not exceed fifty, and trade is at this time more than usually active, if the retrospect be taken from their late circumstances. If I were to judge from the bustle and confusion occasioned in streets by the transport of merchandise from one part of the town to another, I should say the place enjoyed a thriving commerce; for in the morning it is scarcely possible to walk in the streets, where no paths are exclusively appropriated to foot-passengers, as in England, without having your safety endangered, or your clothes dirtied, by the numerous sledges laden with hogsheds and bales which are continually passing. I have been prevented for ten minutes from passing over a draw-bridge by a train of these vehicles, all of them perhaps carrying as great
a quantity

a quantity of valuable commodities as one, two, or three horses could draw.

But the canals of Rotterdam are covered with dismantled vessels, and whole streets of warehouses are unoccupied. This decay of the trade of Rotterdam is not to be attributed solely to the war with Great Britain, but to a variety of causes. The most striking, perhaps, are the emigration of their opulent capitalists, and the oppression and ridiculous ordinances of the Batavian government. By the emigration of the rich and respectable merchants of the British nation, the trade which Rotterdam at present carries on with England has fallen into the hands of men with whom the independent and honest trader of most nations would be averse to deal; and the government, according to the temper and prejudices of the times, has imposed those vexatious restrictions on the export and import trade, which are always peculiarly injurious to commerce. It is a curious fact, deserving to be known, that at the time when the government rigorously prohibited the importation of English manufactures

nufactures into the ports of the republic, a contract was agreed upon between some members of the executive body and a mercantile house in Rotterdam to furnish the requisition of clothing for the French army by an importation of cloth from England; and accordingly eight thousand French soldiers were clothed from the looms of Yorkshire; when, if a single yard had been discovered on board a private trader's vessel, he would have been liable to the severest penalties and confiscations.

Shortly after the commencement of hostilities with England, a singular system of depredation was successfully practised against the underwriters of London and Amsterdam, by merchants of wealth and *reputation* in this place. They were the real, though of course not the nominal, owners of privateers which sailed under the flag of the French republic, and having insured vessels in Amsterdam and London, the ships so secured and the privateers sailed from the Maese together, and an amicable capture ensued. The condemnation of property so
taken

taken was readily obtained, and the underwriters were obliged to make good the ideal loss. A more innocent species of warfare, I believe, was never practised ! Some discoveries of their frauds gave the first check to this curious system of peculation ; and its ruin has since been achieved by the excellent regulations which the chief consul has introduced into the maritime code of France.

About the time to which I have alluded, privateers under the French flag, but actually the property of British subjects resident in Holland, and some of them in England, sailed from the ports of the Batavian republic, and made captures of British vessels to a considerable amount. This was attacking the lives and liberties, as well as the property, of their countrymen ; and I should hesitate to record so disgraceful a fact, could I doubt the authority from whence I derive it. To the lasting infamy of these men, it must be considered, that they had none of those excuses for parricidally preying on their country, with which the French and Dutch refugees are furnished, by the unhappy

happy spirit of the times, and the violence of revolutionary governments. They could not allege in palliation that their country had proscribed their persons, and confiscated their property. Some of them enjoyed the protection of the British government; and those whom the victorious arms of the enemy separated from their country, might reasonably expect, and *possibly* desire, to pass the evening of their lives in the bosom of their native land. It is worthy of observation, that the privateers belonging to these persons committed more depredations than any other, on the vessels and property of neutral nations, and the crews with which they were manned treated with less humanity the persons who unfortunately fell into their hands. These abuses, however, have been carefully attended to by the consular government, and I am not competent to state that they have any longer an existence.

It is the policy of Bonaparte to conciliate the esteem of the neutral powers; and since this great man has held the reins of government,

vernment, the complaints of neutral owners, of the detention of their vessels by French privateers, have been speedily and exemplarily redressed. No privateer can now sail under the French flag, the owners of which are not actually resident in France or her dependencies, and have given sufficient bail to indemnify the damage that may be done to neutral property. It is not now, as was formerly the case, permitted to every insignificant commercial consul of the republic to condemn the vessels which are brought under his jurisdiction; from whence, as these agents were generally venal and rapacious, a thousand abuses originated: but the papers and documents necessary to prove the capture to be a legal prize, must be transmitted to the office of the minister of the marine, from whose decision there is an appeal to a court of admiralty. This last tribunal is in high repute with neutral merchants; and I have heard many invidious comparisons between its decisions and those of Doctors Commons, but with what justice I will not pretend to determine. By wise and salutary measures
like

like these, Bonaparte will consolidate his authority, and acquire more real glory than is to be purchased with an hundred victories.

Rotterdam is not a place to be distinguished for the elegance of its buildings, or the taste of its inhabitants. The bomb quay, which is situated along the Maese, is the principal street, and extends almost a mile in length. The houses in general are five or six stories high, strong and capacious, but inelegant, buildings. On account of the inundations to which the place is subject, none of the houses have what can be called a ground-floor; and the basement is generally disfigured by ponderous gates, like those of barrier towns, which open to the warehouses that are attached to the back part of each house. It is curious to see the ornaments of the Corinthian order stuck against the upper story, without the column to support them. Such attempts at architectural decoration are inconceivably ridiculous: and in the interior arrangement of the houses, mistakes are made, which a
very

very moderate portion of taste would have avoided. It frequently happens, that apartments which would grace the mansion of a prince, have no other views from their windows than the dead walls of a warehouse, used for the vilest purposes of trade, as a magazine for stock-fish, skins, tobacco, and the like. I met with a striking instance of this at the house of Mr. ———, a gentleman whose collection of paintings does equal honour to his liberality and taste. An apartment of almost regal magnificence looks immediately into his warehouse, and the eye turns with horror from the works of Titian and Rubens, to cranes, bales, casks, &c. the appendages of commerce. In the collection of this gentleman, a Holy Family by Rubens, a Venus couchant by Titian, and a St. John by Rembrant, are pieces of exquisite merit. That they should be placed in a room so unfortunately situated is the more to be censured, as the front of his house commands a noble view of the Maese, and an uninterrupted prospect of the country on the opposite side of the river.

The

The principal streets of Rotterdam are thickly planted with trees, which, together with the canals which flow in the middle of them, and the draw-bridges in excellent repair and neatly painted that every-where meet the eye, give them an agreeable appearance. The windows and doors of the houses are in general painted green, which has a lively effect, and this is much increased by the scrupulous cleanliness which is universally practised. Not only the windows, but the whole front of the house, is generally washed two or three times a week by engines for that purpose, which are abundantly supplied with water from the canals, and the same care is extended to the pavement of the streets in which the more opulent inhabitants reside.

Rotterdam has nothing to boast of the splendour of its public buildings. The cathedral of St. Laurence is a dull, heavy pile, in which it would be easier to discover much to find fault with, than any thing to commend. An organ is erecting in this church of astonishing magnitude, which it is supposed

posed will surpass the famous instrument of Haarlem; but, as the times are unfavourable for such undertakings, many years will probably elapse before it is completed. The Exchange is a neat building, and perfectly adapted to the purposes for which it was erected.

An assemblage of ill-featured people, tainted with the love of gain, meet here six times a week between the hours of one and three, and on Sundays it is the rendezvous of the militia of the town.

In the market-place is the statue of Erasmus *, a name still cherished in the place of

* It is the third statue which the gratitude of his townsmen has erected in honour of their illustrious fellow-citizen. The first in wood was raised to his memory in 1549, thirteen years after his decease, and a few years afterwards this was removed for a more elegant and substantial figure in stone. Instigated by a bigotted monk, to whom the rational piety, the profound genius, and extensive learning, of Erasmus, were offensive, the Spaniards in 1572, being masters of Rotterdam, destroyed this statue. The present one in bronze was erected in 1662, and is of good execution. The figure, which stands on a pedestal ornamented with inscriptions and surrounded with iron rails, is larger than life, and represents Erasmus clad in his ecclesiastical habit, with an open

of his birth ; and not far from the venerable figure of this great man, the hat of liberty is erected on a pole of enormous height. The death of three or more trees, successively consecrated to liberty, made it necessary to substitute a pole to display the emblem of Batavian freedom ; but its slightness promises a duration scarcely longer than that of its predecessors, and it is probable that the municipality, when the love of the fantasies of freedom shall have departed from them, will not trouble themselves to erect another. In the fish-market and elsewhere are similar erections, but these are scarcely superior to barbers' poles, or the flag-staffs which we see in the tea-gardens near London.

A weak and recently established government is generally more arbitrary in the exercise of its power, than those authorities which have derived stability from the length of their duration ; and to this cause I attribute the

open book in his hand. On republican festivals the sage is decorated with tricoloured ribbons ; and before the revolution on particular occasions he was made to pay a similar compliment to the house of Orange.

reluctance

reluctance which I find in persons to deliver their genuine sentiments respecting the present condition of the republic. Complaints of past abuses are frequent and copious; but no approbation accompanies the measures of the present administration of the country; their edicts, or rather the edicts of the French minister, are obeyed in silence: the clamours of the factious are not heard;—but where are the acclamations of a grateful people?

In no town within the territory of the United Provinces was the progress of the French arms, in ninety-four and ninety-five, viewed with more alarm than in Rotterdam. It was a season of general mourning and dismay. The most respectable inhabitants of the town were connected with England either by descent or intermarriage, and all classes of society experienced the benefits of an extensive commerce with the British empire. To this partiality for the enemies of the French republic, they joined a strong attachment to the stadtholderian government, as it was established by the influence of England and Prussia in 1787, and a loyal respect

for the person of the prince of Orange. With these partialities and attachments, the advance of the French into the republic, and the absolute impossibility of resistance, caused an universal sensation of terror and grief. The most respectable English families fled from the town, and their example in some cases was followed by the Dutch. To the honour of a numerous and useful class of persons, I have to relate, that when it became certain that all intercourse with England would be suspended, not a female servant of the British nation was to be found in Rotterdam, who would consent to remain there after the French were in possession of the place. Many of them had lived in the same situation so long, that the character of a servant was melted into that of an individual of the family; but no personal or local attachments could prevail over the strong affection which they retained for their country; and the amplest increase of wages to induce them to remain in their places, in every instance, was offered without effect. Their conduct is the more to be admired, when the quantity of
resolution

resolution and energy is estimated, which enabled these poor women to gratify their patriotic feelings. The reflection probably did not occur to them, that they were separating themselves, perhaps for ever, from the most valuable friends they could hope to form during their lives; but the season of their departure was rigorous beyond the inclemency of former years, and few were the accommodations which fell to the lot of the most opulent refugees. The navigation of the Maese, as well as the canals, being interrupted by the frost, the ordinary modes of conveyance were suspended; and so great was the demand for carriages, that happy were those, even the wealthy and delicate, who could obtain a place in an open waggon. The persons who were not thus accommodated, pursued their melancholy route over frozen rivers and snows, from Rotterdam to Helvoetsluys, where they found shipping for England; and they have carried with them the regret and esteem of the place:

On the 22d of January the division of General Bonneau took possession of Rotterdam.

dam. The French troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, marched to this conquest on the solid waters of the Maese, as if nature favoured their enterprise, and presented a spectacle which has not often occurred in the history of war. The solidity which the river had acquired, sufficiently marks the severity of the season. Yet the French soldiers were destitute of the most necessary articles of clothing. Whole battalions were in want of shoes and stockings, nor was the dress of the officers much superior to that of the common men. A sentinel on duty had frequently no other covering to protect him from the cold, instead of a coat, than a tattered blanket fastened round him; and hats or caps were articles that were rarely seen.

Under these disadvantageous circumstances the French troops arrived at Rotterdam, and were immediately quartered on the inhabitants of the town. A moderate requisition of clothing was impartially levied; and after their first alarms had subsided, the behaviour of the French soldiers conciliated the good opinion of all. Not one act of violence or
plunder

plunder disgraced the discipline of the republican army; and complaints of the slightest nature were instantly attended to by the generals, and redressed. On the overthrow of the ancient authorities, a provisional magistracy was erected, which fortunately was composed of men of moderate principles, and truly patriotic sentiments. By their prudent measures, with the assistance and support of the French commander, the public tranquillity was preserved; and though for some weeks the trade of the place was entirely suspended, no acts of riot or disorder were committed by the numerous and dissatisfied poor who were thereby thrown out of employment. The functions of this provisional government expired with the establishment of the new constitution; and with concern I have to state, that their successors have not imitated the moderation and virtue of these upright and useful magistrates: The municipality is chiefly composed of factious and declamatory citizens, who, proud of their authority, indulge in the tyrannical exercise of it; and the discredit of associating with such

men, deters persons of respectability and character from seeking to fill the civil employments of the town.

The mischiefs that might have resulted from power being lodged in the hands of such men, have been greatly prevented by the circumstance, that the majority—a large majority—of the inhabitants of Rotterdam retain a strong partiality for the ancient system of government, and the connection with England. When the marigold, because its colour is the symbol of the house of Orange, was extirpated from the gardens of the patriots, the windows of that quarter of the town where the poor principally reside were filled with pots of that flower; and a plant which a pious age had consecrated to the Virgin, expressed the lively affection of its possessor for an exiled stadtholder of Holland. The red and white roses of the factions of York and Lancaster will perhaps account for the esteem in which the marigold is held by the partisans of the house of Orange, but why should the elegant fruit that bears the name of that family be exiled from the tables
of

of the antistadtholderian party? The moderation and good sense of the times have greatly relaxed the severity of the patriots in this and other respects, and oranges may now be eaten without subjecting the persons so offending to the suspicion of incivism, though some are yet scrupulous of admitting that fruit to their tables.

The concert at Rotterdam is the most fashionable amusement of the place, and invariably well attended. The band is numerous, but, consisting rather of amateurs than persons who live by the exercise of their musical talents, its excellence is not great. It would be difficult, however, in a provincial town of England, Bath excepted, to find a band of superior merit; and this I believe is to be attributed to the general estimation, over other entertainments, in which music is held on the continent. The Dutch language is so dissonant and inharmonious, that their vocal performances are seldom pleasing to the ear of a stranger: a female singer possessed a powerful and melodious voice, but the recurrence of harsh, grating words in her song

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destroyed

destroyed in a great measure the effect of her sweet notes. Madame Banti had been at Rotterdam in the summer, and all were full of her praise. It proceeds from a want of liberality, not of taste, that first-rate singers and performers are not to be met with here.

My attachment to dramatic representations led me the first opportunity to the theatre; and I was so well satisfied with the entertainments of the place, that I have twice repeated my visit. The play-house is a small neat building, and decorated with considerable taste. The boxes, of which there is only one tier, are furnished with elegant chairs and cushions; and what is an admirable convenience, backs are placed to the seats of the pit. It is seldom well attended, though the dramas I have seen were pieces of sterling merit, and the performance of the actors considerably above mediocrity. One evening the "Misanthropy and Repentance" of Kotzebue, which bears the name of "The Stranger" in England, was acted with great judgment and effect; and another time a play borrowed from "L'Enfant trouvé" of the French stage.

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The Roscius of Rotterdam is an Englishman of the name of Bingley ; but I could not discover in his performances any thing to justify the general partiality in his favour : he is, however, an actor of discrimination, and possesses some powers of conception : his delineation of grief is a chaste and accurate performance. The amusements of the theatre generally terminate with a ballet, which is performed by young persons ; and these spectacles, with the assistance of good scenery and cheerful music, are lively and agreeable representations. Adjoining to the theatre is a room where refreshments are to be sold, and here the lovers of tobacco resort to smoke their pipes between the acts of the performance. It is highly to the credit of the morals of the place, that the ear or eye of modesty is not offended by the presence of a single prostitute at the theatre : they are not excluded by any orders of the police or the interposition of the managers, but the public sense of decency and chastity prohibits their appearance. The number of unfortunate women of this description, who frequent the theatres

theatres of the British metropolis, is an intolerable abuse. In Rotterdam, as in all the great cities of Europe, there are brothel's for the reception of licentious women ; but these persons seclude themselves from the public eye, and it requires some acquaintance with vice to discover their retreats.

The state of religion at Rotterdam is nearly the same as before the revolution. On Sundays the churches are well attended ; and though the ministers in general are suspected of being attached to the stadtholder's party, I could not learn that they were treated even by the most violent republicans with disrespect, much less with personal indignity, or any severity that bordered the least on persecution. The pastor of one of the churches, a zealous stadtholderian, who, apprehensive for his safety, fled from Holland on the approach of the French, returned to Rotterdam a few days ago (with the permission of the government), on the invitation of his parishioners, and preached his restoration sermon, which was said to contain more politics than religion, and those by no means
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in favour of the present order of things, to a very numerous congregation.

Holland is distinguished for the munificence of its public charities ; but, unhappily for humanity, they have partaken largely of the misfortunes of the republic. The Weese-house, or asylum for orphans and the destitute children of indigent parents, scarcely maintains two thirds of the objects of charity which before the war it benevolently sheltered ; and other eleemosynary institutions have suffered in a similar proportion.

LETTER V.

A storm.—The village of Overschie—Its miserable accommodations.—Delft.—The mischiefs of the storm.—Beauties of the road.—The Hague—Its elegant buildings.—Removal of armorial bearings.—Palace of the directory.—First chamber of representatives.—Tree of liberty.—Storks.—House in the wood.—Catalogue of pictures.—The portraits of the Stadtholder and his family not to be seen.—Gardens belonging to the house in the wood.

November, 1800:

WE quitted Rotterdam about five in the afternoon of the 9th of November, in the treckschuyt, or passage-boat, for Delft, on our way to the Hague. The weather was unpleasant and tempestuous, but nothing indicated the furious hurricane which overtook us at the distance of a mile from Rotterdam. It resembled in violence rather the tornadoes which desolate the tropics, than an European tempest. The rage of the wind, and the heavy

heavy rain which accompanied it, the agitation of the water, the darkness of the night, and the alarms of the passengers, conspired to render our situation dreadful. The oldest person did not remember a more tremendous storm, and no hurricane that I ever witnessed in the West Indies could be compared with it for violence. The elevation of the canal, some feet above the level of the earth, exposed the boat to the whole force of the wind, and it was absolutely impracticable either to advance or return. In this dangerous situation we must have remained all night, but fortunately towards nine in the evening the storm was so much abated, as to permit us to reach Overschie, a miserable village about the distance of three miles from Rotterdam.

Here we landed, happy at our escape from the treckschuyt, to pass the night. The canal was overflowed, and half the village inundated with water: at every step we were wet to the knees, and torrents of rain completely drenched our upper garments. The tempestuousness of the night
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had crowded Overschie with strangers, and most of the cabarets or ale-houses were filled with guests. We were repulsed from two houses, notwithstanding all our endeavours to excite the avarice or the humanity of the landlords: and it added to our chagrin, that the boors, who sat smoking their pipes over a comfortable turf fire, seemed to enjoy with great satisfaction our distress. At length we were received into a miserable cabin; and fortunately procured an apartment for ourselves. But there was no fire-place in it, and the rain descended, and the wind entered through various chinks. Coffee and gin were the only refreshments which the house afforded, and neither of these very excellent in their kind. A damp bed completed the sum of our misfortunes, and after a sleepless night, we set off early in the morning in a voiture for the Hague.

Every-where from Overschie to Delft, and from thence to the Hague, the destruction of the preceding evening met the eye. Trees, the growth of an age, were torn up by the roots, houses thrown down, and
others

others totally unroofed. The country for many miles was under water, owing to the overflowing of the canals; and at Delft the streets were covered with the wreck of public and private buildings. The old church, in which national gratitude has erected monuments to the memory of Admiral Van Trump and Peter Heyne, was unroofed, and many chimneys of the Military Institute, a modern erection, were blown down. Not a private house that I could perceive had escaped without some damage to its windows or roof; and the destruction had been particularly severe among the slight fantastic temples and summer-houses which adorn the gardens of the Dutch. The overthrow of temples and statues might afflict their possessors, but I regretted the fruit and forest trees that were destroyed: the ingenuity of man could repair the one, but time only re-establish the other.

The great character which the Hague has obtained for the elegance of its buildings, and the delightfulness of its situation, made me so impatient to visit it, particularly as I
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had recommendations to persons every way qualified to shew its beauties, that I abridged the stay I intended to make in Rotterdam some days, and passed through Delft, scarcely bestowing an hour on its curiosities.

From Delft to the Hague the road is magnificently grand. Notwithstanding the advanced period of the season, and the recent storm, the prospects and road are extremely delightful. It is of a sufficient breadth to admit four or five carriages abreast, shaded on both sides by lofty rows of trees, kept in excellent repair, and so level that not the least inequality of ground is to be perceived. The country, though the fact is otherwise, appears, from the manner in which the trees are planted, to be excellently stocked with wood; and the summer-retreats of the opulent, which are thickly scattered over the country, diversify the scene. On one side of the road flows the clear and tranquil canal, on which boats of business or pleasure continually pass and repass, giving an inconceivable interest to
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the landscape. Directly before him the lofty edifices of the Hague raise the expectations of the traveller, and the wood, as it is emphatically called, on the right of the town, presents a scene of forest grandeur.

We alighted at the Parliament of England, a respectable hotel in the Hague, which, before the interruption of our intercourse with Holland, was much frequented by British families of distinction. The accommodations here are good, and the master and servants politely attentive, though not equal to what fame reports of them. The trade of innkeepers has declined in the same proportion as the other branches of Dutch commerce; and therefore the solution is easy, why the hotel is inferior to the reputation which it bears. The person who formerly conducted the Parliament of England, with so much honour to himself and satisfaction to his guests, was an Englishman; but he retired from business shortly after the expulsion of the stadtholder, and the consequent removal of British subjects from the Hague. His successor, with every possible
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disposition to gratify those who frequent his house, has not the ability; for, alas! the Hague is no longer the resort of the wealthy and luxurious from all parts of Europe, and by such guests alone is an inn to be maintained in splendour. I conjectured from the name of the hotel, and its having been much frequented by persons of the British nation, that I should find some one who could speak English, but I was disappointed, and to add to my mortification, the waiters speak French most barbarously.

Geographers and travellers have persisted in calling the Hague a village, because it is not surrounded with walls or fortifications, which are necessary in their opinions to constitute a town or a city; but probably it is indebted for this humble appellation to the signification of its name in the Dutch language, *s'Graven Haag*, or the Count's Hedge, it forming some centuries ago a part of the domains of the counts of Holland. I will not dispute or vindicate the propriety of a term which is of so little consequence to settle.

Village

Village or town, the Hague is a place of wonderful magnificence. The Voorhout, which I deem the principal street, contains many elegant and classical buildings, in the purest style of architecture; and none of the monstrous, unnatural defects are to be perceived, which distinguish the mercantile erections of Rotterdam. Walking in the mall, which is in the middle of this street, I could have conceived myself to be in one of the most elegant towns of Italy, but for the murky atmosphere, surcharged with foggy vapours, which hung over my head, and never permitted one genial ray of the sun to bless me with its warmth; and the grotesque figures of Dutch milk-maids, fish-carriers, &c. bawling most inharmoniously their various commodities to sell. In this street the house of the prince of Wielburgh, who is allied to the stadtholder's family, and that of the ambassador of the French republic, which was formerly the residence of the British minister, are buildings of uncommon elegance; but, either from a want of taste, or a love of simplicity, I preferred the house

which belongs to the head of the Bentinck family in Holland. On the abolition of the ancient constitution of the United Provinces, this gentleman was confined in prison upwards of two years, and his property sequestrated; he is at present at liberty, and his estates have been restored.

The Vyverburg is the next street which claims the attention of a stranger. It is in the form of an oblong square, with spacious walks shaded with trees, and a broad canal, or rather basin of water. The streets of the Hague are paved with a species of light-coloured bricks, which have a gay appearance; and these join so closely together, that no interstices are to be perceived which can harbour dirt. Hence the streets are kept extremely clean; and in the worst weather a person may walk in them with little inconvenience.

I have mentioned the Vyverburg and the Voorhout as the streets in the Hague to which I assign the pre-eminence; but there are many of great elegance I cannot particularise, which fully entitle this magnificent
village

village to the high reputation for the splendour of its buildings which it enjoys. These are decorated with trees, bridges of tasteful construction, and canals; and the meanest of them possesses the recommendation of extreme cleanness. Before the conquest of Holland by the French, and the changes which succeeded that event, the houses of the nobility and persons of rank were ornamented with the armorial ensigns of their families; but such remnants of chivalry and nobility are no longer permitted to be exhibited; and where their removal would have deformed the building, the shields remain despoiled of their quarterings. The arms which are affixed to the houses where the deputies of the states formerly resided, being the armorial distinctions of the different provinces, are not subject to this ordinance, and consequently remain; an exception also is to be seen at the Danish minister's house, where the arms of his master are so painted as to remind me of those exhibitions of heraldry which many of the public-houses of London display; but if the ambassador, in departing

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from general usage, meant only to assert the prerogatives of his character, his wooden escutcheon and its wretched blazonry are honourable to him.

The palace of the stadtholder, now the national palace, in which the members of the Batavian directory reside, and the two chambers of representatives hold their meetings, is chiefly formed of old buildings, erected at different periods, and without any regularity of design. They are surrounded by a canal, over which are draw-bridges, and their external appearance is rather pleasing. The exiled prince intended to have built a new palace, and shortly after the conclusion of the American war, one side of a quadrangle was erected of tolerable architecture. But the troubles which quickly followed in Holland, prevented the completion of this plan; and at present there is not any probability that the design will be carried into execution. In the new building, the first chamber of representatives hold their sittings. The hall appropriated to their use was the Stadtholder's concert room, and it
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is furnished in a manner worthy of the legislature of a wealthy nation. The seats of the members are covered with green baize, and rise amphitheatrically, with desks for the implements of writing. In the centre, on an elevated platform covered with a rich carpet, is the president's chair, of crimson velvet, adorned with the hat, the fasces, and other emblems of freedom. At each end of the hall are galleries for the accommodation of spectators, and no money is permitted to be taken for admittance. I was present at a debate, which excited more than usual interest at the Hague. The subject under consideration was, whether corn and other articles of provision should be allowed to be exported from the republic in neutral vessels to Great Britain. This restriction was proposed by the party most hostile to England, and carried by a large majority. But the debate was conducted with the utmost temperance and moderation, and I was assured the members rarely indulged in virulent abuse of the British nation or government. The stadtholder is already consigned to contemptuous

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oblivion,

oblivion, or if his name is mentioned in their debates, he is spoken of with frigid indifference. This is undoubtedly the wisest procedure, for the abdicated prince certainly has many partisans warmly attached to his cause, whose indignation it would be dangerous to excite, and difficult to allay.

In a square near the palace is the sixth tree of liberty, as I was informed, which the municipality of the Hague have fruitlessly planted in honour of the goddess of freedom. It was dead, but whether of a natural or a violent death I could not determine; the latter seemed probable, for some envious hand had lopped off its branches, and disfigured its bark. What nymph could survive a profanation so cruel? I did not learn that any person had been punished for this indignity to the symbol of national freedom, nor were there any indications that another would be speedily planted.

In the fish market, near the great church, attracted by the offals of the place, which furnish them with a ready and plentiful sustenance,

tenance, and protected by the prejudices of the people in their favour, are to be seen a number of storks most familiarly tame. This bird is the peculiar protégée of republics, and if popular opinion is to be believed, the attachment it bears to liberty will not permit it to inhabit the dominions of a monarch. I will not vouch for the truth of this opinion; but certain it is, that the plumed favourite of the republic has for ages enjoyed the respect and protection of mankind. Plutarch * informs us, that in such honour storks were held in Theffaly, that the punishment of exile was denounced against the man who should unfortunately destroy one of these sacred birds; and the Greek language has a word expressive of filial gratitude (*αντιπελαργειν*), which, literally translated, signifies to act like a stork. The veneration with which Greece regarded this bird was adopted by the Roman commonwealth. The virtuous Antoninus stamped on the reverse of a medal which bore his head the image of a stork, and beneath the word *pietas* was in-

* De Iside et Osiride.

scribed; and a poet who lashed the worst profligacy of a debauched age styles it, “*Pietaticultrix, gracilipes, crotaliftria.*” The attention of this bird to its aged parents, in defending them against attack, and furnishing them with food, is a fact too well established to be doubted; but I cannot bear testimony to the elegance of its form, or the harmony of its voice. Its legs are long, and, though admirably fitted for its modes of life, extremely disproportionate to the size of its body; and the only sounds which I heard it emit were piercing and dissonant screams. I, however, regard the stork with favour, and am pleased with the prejudice which protects the *pia avis* of Greece and Rome.

At the distance of a mile from the Hague, is the house in the wood; a place of retirement which belonged to the stadtholder, but is now converted into a receptacle for the national cabinet of pictures, except a suite of apartments which are occupied by the keeper of a tavern of no very decent character. It reflects little credit on those who are charged with the care of the national domains, and from their functions must in some measure
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be considered as the guardians of public morals, that they permit a brothel to be established within the sacred precincts of a national palace. Yet, to the dishonour of the Batavian government, such is the purpose to which a part of the house in the wood is infamously prostituted.

On the confiscation of the property of the exiled stadtholder, the Dutch government, with laudable zeal for the encouragement of the polite arts, formed his collection of pictures, then esteemed one of the most valuable in Europe, into a national gallery, and set apart an annual sum for the augmentation of this cabinet by purchase. A noble suite of apartments in the house in the wood was provided for their reception, and a director of taste and genius, with proper assistants, appointed to superintend this national collection.

To the politeness of Mr. J. G. Waldorp, the keeper of this cabinet, a person of great intelligence and merit, I am highly indebted for the distinguished attention which at various times he shewed me. He is himself a
painter

painter of merit, and therefore qualified to judge critically of the performances of others; for though an amateur may have the highest possible relish for this art, it is probable beauties will escape him, which a painter alone can discover and appreciate.

The first chamber of this collection is allotted to pictures and portraits illustrative of the history of the United Provinces, and contains a succession of the princes of Orange from William the First to William the Third.

William I. prince of Orange, and Maurice, by Miervelt; Frederic-Henry, and William II. by Hondhorn; and Frederic-Henry by Palamedes; are portraits of uncommon merit: those of Maurice and his brother William I. are perhaps the best.

The portrait of M. de Ruyter, by Ferdinand Bol, cannot be sufficiently admired; and the same praise is due to Admiral Van Nefs and his wife, two exquisite pictures by B. Vander Helst.

The Duke of Alva, by D. Barns, is a most characteristic likeness of that cruel man. He
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is painted in armour, and every feature bears marks of a ferocious and sanguinary disposition. He is the general of an army of executioners, deliberating in cold blood the depopulation of provinces, the sack of towns, and the massacre of defenceless women and children. It is impossible to look at this portrait without feeling an emotion of involuntary horror; and the heart turns with sickness from this faithful representation of a human monster.

The virtuous republican Barneveldt, an enlightened statesman, and strenuous defender of Dutch freedom, by Paul Moreelse, affords the spectator some relief after the contemplation of the fiendlike Spaniard.

But the picture of most excellence is the candle-light portrait of William III. of England, by Schalken. It was the custom of this artist to place his subject and a candle in a dark room, and looking through a small hole, he painted by day-light what he saw in the dark apartment. Tradition relates, that when he drew William, the tallow of the candle ran down upon the king's fingers, to
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the great discomposure of the phlegmatic monarch. The effect of the candle-light is wonderfully executed, but there is a stiffness in the portrait which displeases, though it is undoubtedly a master-piece in that line of painting.

I shall only further notice in this apartment an allegorical painting of John de Wit, as a goose defending her eggs, to signify his care of the republic. Human energy and passions are well described in this picture; and it is no inferior praise to say, that it forcibly reminded me of the Vulture of an English artist of the highest merit *, which was exhibited last year at the Royal Academy.

As the liberality of the Dutch government has not yet furnished catalogues for the use of strangers who visit this national collection, I shall hold myself excusable if I continue briefly to notice the principal ornaments of this cabinet.

In the second chamber, the Massacre of the Innocents, by Cornelius Van Haarlem, pos-

* Mr. Northcote.

sesses many terrific beauties. Mary Magdalenes, by Carlo Maratti and Titian, are paintings of extraordinary worth; but the beautiful Magdalene by Corregio is a picture of superior excellence. Penitence and hope are most divinely blended in the countenance of the reclaimed female.

An *ecce homo*, by Gasper de Crayer, may safely be praised, when it is told that Rubens could admire the picture, and envy the artist. The agony of the countenance of Jesus is finely expressed.

Cleopatra with an asp at her breast, by Guido; St. John the Baptist, a youth, by M. Coxie; and Venus and Adonis, by Willebors; are pieces of great merit: but from these, and a Venus couchant, with Cupid near her, by the Chavelier Vander Werf, the spectator turns with little reluctance to the Triumph of Love, by Flink. The Venus of this piece is most voluptuously beautiful, and nothing is left for the imagination of the beholder to supply.

“Quare nuda Venus nudi pinguntur amores?”

A St. Peter, in Gobelin tapestry, possesses
sufficient

sufficient excellence to secure it an honourable place in this apartment, though expressly against the spirit of the institution. It bears a great resemblance to the ingenious exhibitions at Hanover-square.

The most striking pieces in the third chamber, are four paintings of dead game, by Hondekoeter, and one by Wenix. The pictures of the former enjoy a deserved reputation, but the colouring of Wenix is more brilliant. The plumage of his dead pheasant is a perfect imitation of that beautiful bird, nor are his animals less to be praised for their exquisite correctness. A quack vending his medicines, by Jan Steen, and a surgeon's shop, by J. M. Sorg, are two comic pieces of great humour, and good execution.

The cieling of the fourth apartment is painted by Laireffe, an artist of whom the Dutch nation has reason to be proud; and four stories from Ovid, by the same hand, ornament as many compartments of the room. T. M. Torquatus putting his son to death, by F. Bol: the decapitated trunk
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and severed head are drawn in a masterly manner. The departure of Æneas from Carthage, by the same. Two landscapes by Glauber. Twelve small pictures describing the history of Claudius Civilis, a noble Batavian, according to the relation of Tacitus, who for some time gallantly defended the independence of his country against the encroachments of imperial Rome, are from the pencil of Otto Venius, and of such excellence, that the great Lord Bolingbroke, a man whose judgment in whatever relates to the elegant arts few will be inclined to suspect, offered to purchase them at the extraordinary price of ten thousand pounds.

The anti-chamber to the small audience-room, or Chinese apartment, contains, with many which I shall omit, the Holy Family, by Rubens; Mary Magdalene, by Vandyke; the Annunciation, by Lange Jan; the Birth of Venus by Jordaans; and the four seasons of the year by the same. The figure of winter as an old woman is admirably depicted, and the effect of fire-light exquisitely managed.

The great hall of audience is an octagonal building, erected by Amelia of Solms, in honour of her husband Frederic-Henry, and contains a series of paintings, admirably executed, descriptive of his life.

The Apotheosis of Frederic-Henry, by Jordaans, is a picture of prodigious size, and extraordinary merit, in which the artist has introduced a portrait of himself. But the representation of Time destroying all things, by the same painter, exhibits more beauties.

The other artists who have contributed to decorate this apartment, are Rubens, Vanderwerf, Du Buay, Soutman, Van Fulden, &c.

In the time of the stadtholder, this apartment was often used as a concert-room, and when the Orange family dined in public, the hall of audience was the scene of their repasts. Thither the good Dutchman repaired to view his sovereign, not assisting at deliberations of state, or employed in the exercise of supreme magistracy, but enjoying the pleasures, the humble pleasures, of a luxuriously-furnished table.

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In the common eating-room are three grey paintings, in imitation of basso-relievo, by J. de Wit. They represent Atalanta and Meleager, the four seasons of the year, and Venus and Adonis; and are so admirably executed as at a very short distance to deceive the most critical eye. They appear so to stand out from the wall, that the spectator imagines he could brush the dust from the projecting figures; nor are the designs of these pictures less elegant than the deception is happily managed *. In this apartment is shewn an ancient ball of wood, into which a number of nails were driven by the first Dutch confederates who assembled to rescue their country from the tyranny of Philip II.; and the cup is also preserved out of which these patriots drank to the success of their holy cause. Here is a cannon of gold and silver,

* Elegant as these figures are, it must be considered that deception is the meanest branch of the art of painting, and it is therefore to be regretted that the artist did not use his pencil for nobler purposes.

enriched with diamonds, which was given by a dey of Algiers, as a proof of his esteem, or fear, to Admiral de Ruyter; and a park of artillery in miniature, which was made for the instruction of the stadtholder's sons in the art of war.

The furniture of this house, which was sumptuous, as well as of the other palaces which belonged to the stadtholder, was confiscated by the French, and sold for their use, under pretext that the republic had declared war against the Prince of Orange personally. A similar fate would have attended his magnificent collection of pictures, but the Dutch government wisely redeemed this treasure, and, in imitation of their sister republic, founded a national gallery. Since its foundation in ninety-seven, to November, eighteen hundred, three thousand one hundred and twenty tickets of admission only had been issued; a proof that much taste for the fine arts does not exist in Holland, or that few strangers have resorted to the Hague. The price of admission is about one shilling
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and sixpence, and the money so collected assists to defray the expences of the institution.

In this house, as elsewhere, the arms of the Orange family are carefully obliterated, and the portraits of the stadtholder, his father, his princess, and their children, are dispossessed of their places. A small equestrian figure in bronze of Frederic the Great, the gift of that king to his niece the Princess of Orange, maintains its place, perhaps equally through respect to the character of that illustrious prince, and fear of offending the powerful court of Berlin. But the portraits of George II. and Caroline, of Ann their daughter, the mother of the stadtholder, and of various royal personages of a more recent date, are consigned to the lumber-room of the palace, that the eye of the republican amateur may not be offended by their presence, or the Orangist gratified by delineations of the objects of his attachment. As the portraits of the most renowned princes of the house of Orange are permitted to remain, the absence of the modern

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dern likenesses can occasion the unprejudiced spectator but little regret, unless indeed he considers their removal as an insult to fallen grandeur.

Great care is taken of the gardens belonging to the House in the Wood, at the expence of the nation, and in fine weather they are resorted to from the Hague, as a promenade somewhat in the style of our parks. What attractions they possess when summer draws forth the beauties of vegetation, I am not competent from the lateness of the season to pronounce; but undoubtedly they are laid out in the worst style of horticulture. Here are stagnated canals in abundance, with puerile bridges thrown over them, trees bent and cut into fantastic shapes, and flower-beds of a thousand forms. But every thing is unnatural and artificial. The canal meanders without grace, and trees stunted in their growth exhibit nothing but specimens of deformity. The luxuriance of Nature smiles not here, and her operations are carefully limited with more than mathematical severity. It is a fault of less consequence
certainly

certainly than those which I have noticed, but nevertheless of considerable magnitude, that the garden-walks here are strewn with sand, and a soft species of sea-shell, which soon pulverises, instead of gravel. These walks offend the eye, and are disagreeable to the feet: in wet weather I should imagine they acquire the consistency of mortar.

LETTER VI.

The prince's cabinet of curiosities removed to Paris—What would probably have been its fate had it been transported to England.—Scheveling.—Distress of the fishermen of Scheveling on the departure of the Prince of Orange—Rejoicings at the Hague on the same occasion.—Sketch of the history of the stadtholders.—Reports to the disadvantage of the present Prince of Orange.—Discontents in Holland.—Imprudence of the Princess of Orange.—Effects of the French revolution in the United Provinces.—Animosity of the Dutch towards the British troops.—Moderation of the French.—Some account of General Daendals.—The revolution of Holland effected without blood.—French emigrants.—What would be the reception of an Englishman in the French army.—A citizen of the world.

AMONG the curiosities at the Hague which formerly attracted the attention of the
inquisitive

inquisitive stranger, the prince's cabinet of natural history and museum of rarities held a distinguished place. It is now removed to Paris; and as the influence of party operates, its loss is regarded as a weighty misfortune, or a trifle unworthy of notice. They who accommodate themselves to the circumstances of the times, represent it as a collection of baubles fit only for the amusement of women and children; and the enemies of the present system, who inveigh against the rapacity of the French, maintain its superiority over the British Museum. The real value of this cabinet is perhaps to be found in the medium between these opposite opinions. Professor Pallas, the Pliny of Russia, acquired in this collection the elements of that knowledge which has since rendered his name illustrious; and Camper, one of the most profound geniuses which the United Provinces ever produced, and a natural philosopher of deserved reputation, studied in the same school. It may therefore be presumed, that this collection could enrich the man of science, as well as amuse the feeble amateur,

amateur, and its removal must be considered as an event eminently disserviceable to the progress of natural history in Holland. This is the more to be regretted, as the Dutch have perhaps cultivated natural history, and the sciences allied to it, which demand perseverance in enquiry and accuracy of observation, with more success than any other nation in Europe. Had this cabinet been transported to England, it would probably have been added, with little advantage to science, to the dusty stores of Montague-house; nor is it probable its fate will be happier in the National Institute of France, where it now reposes. The Dutch government might have purchased its redemption at a moderate price; but legislators are not often philosophers; and while the wealth of nations is exhausted for the destruction of the human species, small are the sums that are expended for the advancement of useful knowledge.

At the distance of two miles from the Hague is Scheveling, the village from which the stadtholder embarked, when he fled from
his

country. Its inhabitants are chiefly fishermen, and these poor men beheld the departure of their prince with the liveliest concern. The beach was crowded with afflicted spectators, whose respectful silence and tears spoke their feelings. The stadtholder, his son the hereditary prince, and two or three Dutch noblemen, attached to the fortunes of the house of Orange, embarked on board a small fishing vessel, navigated by five men, and bid adieu, probably for ever, to their country. The princesses had departed the day before in a vessel equally unsuitable to their rank and sex; and such may be considered as the end of the political existence of a family which for two hundred years watched over the safety of the republic.

While the poor fishermen at Scheveling lamented their fugitive princes, the populace at the Hague, with that inconstancy which characterises the vulgar, assembled in a tumultuous manner to express their contempt of their ancient governors, and to insult the unfortunate partisans of the house of Orange. The most distinguished nobles who remained,

ed, generously determined to share the fate of their country, were thrown into prison to protect them from popular violence, and guards were placed in their houses to preserve them from pillage. It may not be improper here to mention, that the conduct of a Dutch mob is strongly marked with the characteristic frugality of the nation. They will plunder their real or supposed enemies without reluctance; but when their resentments extend even to an utter disregard for the lives of individuals, they as carefully avoid the destruction of property, as they would in the most equitable transactions. Immediately that the flight of the prince was known, his tradesmen wisely removed from their shops the armorial bearings of the house of Orange, which before were ostentatiously displayed, and substituted in their place those emblems of liberty which inflamed the passions of the populace. But notwithstanding these precautions not to exasperate the mob, the security of these inoffensive persons and their property was extremely dubious, until the arrival of a detachment of the French
army

army at the Hague, four days after the departure of the stadtholder. The French troops were accompanied by two members of the convention, dignified with the lofty title of representatives of the people, who prohibited in severe terms any tumultuous meetings, and preserved by their vigorous measures the unfortunate adherents of the stadtholder from the terrible effects of popular indignation. It is said that the leaders of the patriotic party, as it was styled, who had been oppressed by the Orange faction, solicited permission for eight-and-forty hours to exercise the vengeance they thirsted for on their enemies; but the French representatives magnanimously declared, that they came to deliver the whole Batavian people from oppression, not to gratify the resentments of individuals, and a proclamation was issued to restrain popular violence. The salutary effects of these wise measures, and the evils which were thereby averted, were pointed out to me, in a strain of becoming gratitude, by a person warmly attached to the exiled prince,

prince, and ardently desirous of his re-establishment.

The joy which manifested itself at the Hague on the departure of the stadtholder will occasion some astonishment, when we consider how much that village was indebted for its splendour to the fostering care of the house of Orange. From the death of William I. towards the close of the sixteenth century, it had been, with few intervals, the residence of the court, and the seat of government. The ample revenues of the stadtholder were principally expended here, and the persons attached to him through interest or principle were numerous in every class of society. His splendid establishment gave easy employment and support to multitudes, and the extensive patronage which he enjoyed in consequence of his high offices in the state, if attended with some degree of envy, afforded him the ready means of conciliating many friends.

In the personal character of the prince, and the circumstances of the times, we shall discover

discover the causes of that animosity against him which immediately on his departure was virulently displayed. The services performed by the first princes of the house of Orange were rewarded by the republic with the highest employments of dignity and trust in the state, and the confidence of the nation was not abused by the illustrious chiefs to whom power was thus delegated. The splendid abilities of the first stadtholders, and their successes in wars and negotiations, happily asserted and established with renown the independence of the United Provinces. If their enemies have accused them with justice of uniformly endeavouring to extend their authority at the expence of the liberties of the people, the lustre of their glories threw a veil over their ambition, and the solid benefits they conferred on the state were gratefully acknowledged by the sternest republicans. For upwards of a hundred years, under an auspicious succession of five princes of the house of Orange, the United Provinces flourished in arms, riches, and arts. A territory of small geographical extent ranked with

with the most potent kingdoms of Europe, and resisted the gigantic forces of the monarchies of England and France.

From the death of William the Third, whose talents and address rescued the republic from the most imminent danger, the stadtholderate remained vacant, till the difficulties in which the states found themselves involved in 1747, together with the wishes of the nation, and the powerful interposition of George the Second, induced them to confer that dignity on William the father of the present Prince of Orange, and to make the offices of captain-general and admiral-general of the republic hereditary in his family. William the Fourth was a prince of considerable talents, but he survived his elevation only a few years, and his administration was too short for the nation to derive much advantage from it.

The stadtholders hitherto had shed a lustre on the republic by their great abilities, which concealed their designs against the liberties of the people ; but William the Fifth inherited the ambition of his ancestors, without any pretensions

pretensions to their splendid talents. His reign (if I may be permitted to use that term to denominate an authority almost regal) was marked by a succession of disasters, and closed with the conquest of his country and his precipitate flight. If a long train of circumstances, for which the stadtholder could not be blamed, had impaired the resources and weakened the energies of the republic, its fall was undoubtedly accelerated by the feeble and impolitic administration of that prince and his ministers. But the chief cause of his unpopularity, and of the extravagant joy that was displayed on his departure, was his attachment to the court of London. The Dutch had long viewed with bitter jealousy, on account of their own impoverished trade, the flourishing commerce of the British empire, and a mysterious connection highly unfavourable to the republic was supposed to exist between the stadtholder and the English government.

It was reported (with what truth I cannot determine) and received with avidity, that the battle of the Dogger Bank, a combat

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honourable to the Dutch marine, was fought in disobedience to the orders of the admiral-general; and amongst other rumours then circulated and afterwards revived, it was said, that when the news of the battle arrived at the Hague, the stadtholder expressed his satisfaction that the English had not lost any ships. A naval officer, extremely well disposed to the new government, to whom in conversation I applied for information on the subject, assured me of his entire disbelief of either reports; and it is probable had any evidence existed of orders given by the stadtholder to his admirals to avoid the English fleet, the directory would have published a fact so disgraceful to the Prince of Orange.

But if we reject, as originating in the malice of party, the story which accuses the stadtholder of absolutely betraying his country, and expressing a most unnatural joy at the success of its enemies, it is certain his partiality for England was so plainly manifested as to excite universal discontent, not only in the great commercial cities of the United Provinces, which regarded Great Britain

Britain as the dangerous and insidious rival of their trade, but at the Hague and other places where the personal influence of the Prince of Orange might be supposed to be considerable.

These discontents, shortly after the restoration of peace, ripened into open insurrection, and the stadtholder would have been dismissed with ignominy from his government, had not Prussia and Great Britain interfered for the preservation of his authority. The arms of one of these powers, and the threats of the other, maintained the Prince of Orange in his offices, and even procured for him an accession of power. But his forcible re-establishment in the stadtholderate by the violent interference of foreign powers, gave great offence to the moderate as well as to the republican party, and in proportion as the prince's authority was augmented, the respect to his character was diminished. The zealous republicans, who with difficulty would have tolerated a stadtholder of the most profound talents, beheld with vivid indignation that high dignity, at a crisis

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which

which demanded consummate abilities, filled by a prince of a very limited capacity ; and the notion was extensively circulated by the mischievous activity of party, that the calamities of the nation were to be attributed solely to the maladministration of the prince.

Other causes contributed to swell the stream of popular odium which flowed against the stadtholder. His princess, a woman of more than ordinary powers of understanding, was on many accounts extremely disagreeable to the Dutch, and had on some occasions, where the utmost delicacy of management was required*, interfered in public measures in a manner unbecoming her situation and sex. Her ascendancy over the prince her husband might have been overlooked or applauded, as the natural consequence of su-

* The Princess of Orange, without any acknowledged character in the republic, which permitted her to interfere in public affairs, answered in her own name some memorials which during the troubles in 1787 the states-general addressed to the prince her husband, and in a style so haughty and overbearing as to excite universal indignation.

perior talents, had her counsels tended to the prosperity of the republic ; but they were uniformly directed to augment the power of the stadtholder, and with little suitable attention to the genius or prejudices of the nation, on whose rights she endeavoured to encroach. She possessed few of those qualities which engage the affections of the vulgar ; and the severe etiquette of her court, together with its expensive magnificence, disgusted the higher ranks of a frugal people, jealous of their liberties.

The French revolution added a third party to the factions which divided Holland, and it may be doubted whether the majority of the Dutch nation entered cordially into the war with France. The republican party looked up to France as the only power capable of delivering them from the yoke of the stadtholder, and the influence of England ; and it is well known that when the Austrian and British troops bravely disputed every inch of ground, the Dutch forces opposed a very feeble resistance to the French army. If it is certain that there was much disaffection or

supineness in the Dutch army, where the influence of the stadtholder might be supposed to be considerable, it will not occasion wonder that many towns and cities of the republic openly avowed a disposition hostile to his cause. At a time when the further progress of the French was dubious, and the career of their arms might have been arrested, had the Dutch cordially united to defend their country, the sick and wounded of the British army were refused admission into Delft, and a corps of burghers was formed at Amsterdam to prevent the entrance of foreign troops (by which were exclusively meant the English) into that city. Other instances equally strong might be brought forward.

A short time before the French crossed the Waal, which passage decided the fate of the republic, the stadtholder was invested with additional powers, which in some sort resembled those of the ancient dictators of Rome. But in obtaining the paramount object of his ambition, he alienated more and more the affections of his countrymen, and his proclamation commanding the people to rise

rise in a mass, scarcely procured the additional strength of fifty recruits to the Dutch army. It was then ordered throughout the United Provinces, that three houses should furnish one man among them for the defence of the republic; but the antipathy of the nation to the stadtholder's government prevented the execution of this plan.

Under these circumstances of almost universal irritation and discontent, the intelligence of the Prince of Orange's flight was generally received with transports of joy. Policy, or the fear of giving offence to the predominate party, if they acted otherwise, undoubtedly induced some to affect the popular enthusiasm, and some, for no solid reasons desirous of a change, rejoiced they knew not why; but a vast majority, fully expressing the voice and wish of the nation, beheld with the most sincere pleasure, notwithstanding the calamitous circumstances which made it necessary, the abdication of the stadtholder.

The moderation which marked the first acts of the French commanders and representatives,

sentatives, was opposed to the rigorous measures which the sad necessities of the times obliged the stadtholder to have recourse to, and tended at once to reconcile the people to the important changes which took place, and to render the subverted government odious. Had the revolution been effected by the Dutch patriots, it is probable much blood would have been shed, for the resentments of the leaders of that party were sharpened by seven years' proscription, and the haughty triumph of their adversaries. General Daendals, who fled from Holland in 1787, on account of the active part which he took in the troubles of that time, became afterwards a general of division in the army which conquered his country, and distinguished himself on a variety of arduous occasions. During his exile, this person is supposed to have imbibed at Paris some of the sanguinary sentiments of the revolutionary clubs; and as he may be considered as one of the heads of the patriotic party, it is of consequence to relate what those sentiments were. In 1787, on account of his opposition
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to the authority of the stadtholder, and subsequent flight from Holland, he incurred a kind of outlawry, in consequence of which his property and estates, which were considerable, were confiscated and sold. On his triumphant return to his country in 1795, and the political annihilation of his enemies, he was not content with being restored to the possession of his estates, and receiving ample indemnification for the loss of his property, but he threatened with extermination all who had been concerned in the confiscation or detention of his fortune. Happily he could not communicate the same spirit of personal animosity and virulence to the French commanders, and consequently his plans of terrible vengeance proved abortive.

General Daendals, on the settlement of the new government, was appointed commander in chief of the Batavian forces, in which capacity he rendered important services to the republic when the English invaded Holland: he still continues to fill this situation, and I am sincerely pleased to add with the most laudable moderation. Of his abilities

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as a general I shall have occasion hereafter to speak, I shall therefore at present only observe, that they fully justify the high confidence which the nation and government repose in him.

It is most honourable to all who were concerned in the subversion of the ancient government of the United Provinces, a government which had subsisted two hundred years, respected in its foreign and domestic relations, and enjoying all the advantages of prescription and long establishment, that not one drop of human blood was judicially shed on its overthrow. I was at great pains to gather what would probably have been the fate of the stadtholder and his family, had they awaited in Holland the storm that burst over their unfortunate house, and amidst a great diversity of opinions, the prevailing sentiment was, that they would have been banished from the territories of the republic. This opinion is corroborated by the knowledge of the influence which the King of Prussia, at that time negotiating with France, possessed in the councils of that republic ;

republic ; and he certainly would have averted, either by threats or force, any violence from being offered to the Princess of Orange his sister, or her family. But undoubtedly, under the alarming circumstances in which they were placed, the wisest measure which the family of Orange could pursue, was that which they adopted ; for had they remained at the Hague till the arrival of the enemy, had their personal safeties not been endangered, they must have suffered many indignities, and been harassed with much anxiety and alarm.

In the course of the enquiries from whence the foregoing information and opinions were derived, I learnt that on the arrival of the French at Amsterdam, three emigrants were shot in the square before the stadthouse of that city. Similar executions to a much greater extent had taken place on the frontiers, but the men so put to death were found in arms against the republic, while the unfortunate wretches that suffered at Amsterdam were guilty of no other crime than that of having quitted their country. The
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number of French emigrants who were in the interior of Holland, at the time when it was over-run by their countrymen, was considerable, but through the clemency of General Pichegru, or his humane connivance, the interposition of the Dutch government, and the activity of their own fears, which furnished them with wings to fly, three only were publicly executed: On the departure of the prince from Scheveling, an order was sent from the states-general to prevent the sailing of any more vessels from that place: had it been strictly attended to, three or four fishing boats crowded with wretched emigrants would have been detained, but their unhappy situation, and the urgency of their case, procured them a ready exemption from an order which, perhaps, was only meant to conciliate the conquerors.

A French general of high rank, whose acquaintance I gained through the kindness of General Chorié, conversing with me respecting the lives of the emigrants, assured me that many of these unhappy men would have been saved, had the powers who coalsced against France vigorously

vigorously interposed in their behalf, and exercised for a period similar severities on the republican troops, had their remonstrances been unattended with success. He informed me, that when a town surrendered to the arms of France, in which emigrants were supposed to be, it was not unusual for the general commanding the besieging forces to allow the governor of the captured town a number of covered waggons, which should be permitted to pass without inspection, in order that the miserable emigrants might escape in them; but it sometimes happened that mercenary commanders chose rather to employ these waggons for their private emolument, than to use them for the humane purposes for which they were granted, and in such cases the severe laws of the republic were sternly executed. With a national pride, which did honour to his heart, he added, at the moment when he most loudly condemned their principles, that the emigrants were the bravest enemies whom the republican troops had to encounter. I insinuated that he might mistake for heroic courage
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what was in reality the effects of despair; but he assured me again and again that their excessive gallantry proceeded from no other cause than their being Frenchmen.

I was much pleased with a sentiment expressed by the same intelligent person, which also, now that their zeal for making converts is abated, is held by most respectable Frenchmen, and marks the return the nation is making to its former habits of thinking. I asked him what reception an Englishman would receive at his hands, who should offer to serve in the armies of the French republic. He answered, he should endeavour to dissuade him from his purpose; but if his arguments proved ineffectual, it would then be his duty to signify the offer to the commander in chief, or the minister at war. In that case, the Englishman might probably receive an appointment, but from that moment he should consider him unworthy of a place at his table, and not deserving to receive the slightest attention or civility. He would view him as a soldier with suspicion, and as a man with contempt. In these sentiments, he added, most
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of the officers with whom he had served cordially joined, and there were few republicans of integrity and reflection who were not of the same opinion.

I was amused at the house of a citizen of the world (such was the appellation which he bestowed on himself), where we dined—whose country you cannot mistake when I inform you, that he assured me Sir John Pringle was the most skilful physician that had appeared since the days of Hippocrates or Celsus—with the contrast of a man coldly appreciating the merits and defects of different nations, and pretending an equal attachment to all, and two or three Frenchmen so partial to their own, as to affirm all excellence was confined to the territories of their republic. The warm enthusiasm of the Frenchmen was an agreeable vanity which it was impossible not to admire, and especially as it was opposed to the frigid, cold-hearted system of the North Briton. One of the Frenchmen had been a planter in Saint Domingo, where he had valuable estates, which, as tranquillity is now in a great measure

measure restored to that island, he hopes to recover. He described with great sensibility his feelings on seeing the coast of France, from the deck of the vessel which brought him to Europe, after an absence of sixteen years. He had suffered much from the revolution both in the West-Indies and in France, where his patrimonial fortune was sequestrated; but still he loved his country with unabated fervour, and was most deeply interested in its welfare. This gentleman is promised by Bonaparte a high appointment in Saint Domingo, whenever the French government shall turn its attention to that island, and this he intimated was now in contemplation.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

The road from the Hague to Scheveling.—Destruction occasioned by the late storm.—The beach at Scheveling.—Aversion of the Dutch to the air of the sea.—The fisheries of Holland.—Theatre at the Hague.—A member of the Batavian directory.—Impoverishment of the Hague.—Thoughts concerning the restoration of the Stadtholder.—Character of his deceased son.—Account of the present King of Prussia.—Literary traffic of the Hague.—Great diminution of its magnificence.—French troops.—Their pay.

The Hague, November, 1800.

THE fishermen of Scheveling, and the departure of the chiefs of the house of Orange from that village, led me into a digression from which I return with pleasure. If it afforded amusement or information, an apology is unnecessary; if the contrary, the best is to

be found in my intentions, which were to contribute, as far as my limited powers would permit, to both.

The road from the Hague to Scheveling is so justly praised by the Dutch, and pointed out as an object of admiration to strangers, that I should be liable to well-founded censure did I not attempt to describe it. The length of this avenue is near two miles, and its breadth about twenty paces, or rather more. It is a perfectly straight line, so that the entrance of the road commands a view of the whole; and happily a picturesque object, the church of Scheveling, terminates the prospect. On each side it is shaded by beeches, limes, and oaks of an astonishing growth, which are so closely and skilfully planted, at the same time without incommoding each other, that they form to appearance an impervious forest. Great care, but certainly not more than it deserves, is taken to preserve this magnificent grove from injury or depredation. Here the fond lover may brood in solitude over his passion, but must not wound the bark of a tree with the initials of his mistress's

mistress's name; nor must the mischievous boy exercise his agility at climbing in this consecrated wood. Woe be to the miserable wretch who is detected here picking a few sticks to light her fire; the spin-house or bridewell would be the punishment of her offence. At short distances, cautions are fixed up, like those in England, offering rewards to informers, and denouncing the severest penalties against offenders; and that the most illiterate may not be ignorant of these regulations, pictures of indifferent execution, describing the story of a boy transgressing and chastised, are exhibited in conspicuous situations. But it is probable that the veneration which the Dutch have for trees in general, and in particular for these, on account of their peculiar beauty, are the best safeguards of this delightful wood.

The merit of planning this avenue, according to our *valet de place*, whose authority I believe may be relied upon in this case, since I find it is supported by the printed account of the Hague, belongs to Constantine Huygens, the brother of the celebrated

mathematician and mechanist of that name; and the age of the stateliest trees is near a century and a half. The late storm has committed most deplorable ravages here. The person whom I have just mentioned, with that accurate attention which is a characteristic feature of the Dutch nation, counted fifty-six noble trees torn up from their roots by the violence of the wind, and the destruction of branches and underwood was proportionally great. The poor fellow, when he pointed out the beauties of the road, lamented the desolation of the storm with much feeling, and heaved a sigh at every tree of more than ordinary magnitude (and they were numerous) which had been levelled to the earth.

The ocean, which washes the village of Scheveling, is concealed from view by sand-hills, until you approach it so near as thirty or forty yards: it then bursts upon your sight with inconceivable grandeur; and though you are acquainted with its proximity, its sudden appearance produces an indescribable effect. The beach here is extremely fine,
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and forms a beautiful semi-circle of about six miles extent. On this beach was tried the famous flying chariot of Stevinus*, which my uncle Toby has introduced to the acquaintance of most readers; and I doubt whether the engineer could have found in Europe another plain better suited to his purpose. But, such is the unaccountable prejudice of the Dutch, this beach, which were it in any part of England would create an extensive town in its neighborhood, and be yearly the resort of the gay, the luxurious, the debilitated and infirm, is neglected and avoided by all persons here. We met on the road to Scheveling three or four carriages with company, and expected to find as many on the sand; but neither seeing equipages, nor any marks of wheels on the beach where we wandered, which was as firm and solid as a garden walk, I enquired the cause, and learnt that the Dutch have a strong antipathy to the air of the sea. They equally dislike

* I could obtain no account of this famous machine, and some persons doubted whether it ever existed but in the fertile imagination of the engineer.

the use of salt-water for a bath, and consequently there are no machines for that delightful and invigorating exercise. This aversion to the sea air and water is not merely a vulgar prejudice, but obtains the support of their leading physicians; and on this account, though most delightful houses of pleasure might be built on the coast, commanding an exquisite marine prospect, not a villa or even a hovel is to be seen, three or four houses at Scheveling excepted, which fronts the ocean. The ruddy countenances of the Dutch fishermen, and their athletic limbs, might seem to afford an irresistible refutation of this idle prejudice; but persons who have a violent attachment to old opinions, generally overlook facts, and dwell upon theories.

It is dangerous for vessels to anchor off Scheveling, on account of the exposed position of the coast, and the want of sand-banks to break the force of the sea; the fishermen therefore, when they return from their labours, drag their vessels on rollers up the beach, beyond the reach of the tide. In this manner on the sand were upwards of thirty boats,

boats, from twenty to five-and-thirty tons burthen; but one half of them were dismantled, and a number of persons thereby deprived of employment. Our appearance drew a crowd of clamorous beggars about us, chiefly of the fisherman tribe, whose looks and gestures bespoke extreme wretchedness: some endeavoured to excite our compassion by offering for sale a few shells which the sea had cast on the beach, others by loudly proclaiming their wants, and all by sorrowful and dejected countenances.

The ruin of the great fisheries of Holland was the inevitable consequence of a war with Great Britain; but as, by the established usage of nations, in former times, fishermen were permitted, notwithstanding hostilities, to follow unmolested their avocation, for the regular supply of the domestic consumption of their country, I was surprised to find sea-fish scarce, and many boats unemployed. The reason I understood is, that the English government, contrary to its practice in former wars, will not permit the Dutch to fish at a greater distance than five

miles from their own coast; which is in reality an useless indulgence, for the only banks in the North-sea on which fish is to be caught in any quantities are beyond the allowed limits, and therefore if the fisherman, to follow his trade, goes out so far to sea, he incurs the risque of being taken; a risque which few are disposed to hazard, from the number and vigilance of our cruisers which are on the coast of Holland.

In its more auspicious days, the Hague maintained a troop of French comedians and the performers of the Dutch theatre. It could also boast of an elegant concert, with good Italian voices, and other amusements suitable to the princely and wealthy inhabitants of a great city. At present its public entertainments are reduced to the Dutch theatre, the actors of which, instead of being stationary at the Hague, perform only twice a week, and on the remaining days exhibit their talents to the citizens of Delft and Rotterdam. We therefore saw the same troop of actors which on a former occasion I introduced to your acquaintance, and to our mortification

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we had also seen the drama which they represented. The farce, however, was new to us, and diverting from excess of ridiculous absurdity. It was the production of a Dutch author, and I shall slightly detail the story to you, not as a specimen of national wit, but of the outrageous fooleries which a Dutch audience can tolerate.

A chimney-sweeper makes his appearance on the stage from a fire-place, and perceiving a fine suit of clothes, he strips off his own sooty garments, and dresses himself in a laced coat, embroidered waistcoat, bag-wig, &c. When he is thus equipped, the servants of the house enter, and mistake him for the person whose dress he wears. Imagining him to be my lord, they bring him a variety of refreshments, which, to the great delight of the audience, he swallows with voracious gluttony, making between every mouthful a hideous grimace, and loudly expressing his satisfaction at the dainties on which he feeds. After the servants retire, the master of the house visits his guest; and also mistaking him for a nobleman, offers him his daughter in marriage

age with a large fortune. A bargain is concluded, the daughter appears, and the father gives her hand to the metamorphosed sweeper. At this critical moment the real lord enters, the cheat is accordingly discovered, and the knave in his finery makes his escape up the chimney.

The theatre is smaller than that at Rotterdam, and the decorations inferior. It was impossible to see the scene, which was dropt between the acts, without smiling. It represented cupids hovering over the altar of Love. The cupids were chubby Dutch children, formed in nature's homeliest mould; the graces were round-faced damsels, with flaxen hair, and the goddess of love an antidote to that passion.

The centre-box, which formerly was appropriated to the use of the stadtholder, now belongs to the Batavian directory, one of the members of which body, with his family, was at the theatre. Nothing in the appearance or reception of this person indicated his rank. He was dressed in a plain suit of black clothes, and appeared to be about fifty years
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of age. The directorial box has no ornaments to distinguish it from others, and I should not have known to whom it belonged, had I not seen on entering the theatre, a piece of paper pasted on a box-door, on which was written in an almost illegible hand, "*Le logis de directoire Batave*"—The box of the Batavian directory. The theatre was miserably attended. I am confident I speak within bounds, when I say, the whole audience did not amount to one hundred persons. So trifling a collection of spectators at the theatre of a town whose population certainly exceeds thirty thousand inhabitants, either shews that the taste of the people for dramatic exhibitions is feeble, or their poverty extreme. With such receipts, the managers cannot afford to light many candles in their house; and, that none may be unnecessarily consumed, whenever the musicians quit the orchestra, the lights which enable them to read their scores are carefully extinguished until they return. The price of admission to the boxes is rather more than half-a-crown English money, and to the
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other parts of the theatre in an equitable proportion. The gallery part of the audience, I was informed, was chiefly composed of French soldiers, whose partiality to scenic representations was so strong, as to bring them to a theatre where a language was spoken of which they scarcely understood a single word.

The Hague has certainly sustained a great diminution of wealth and splendour, from the flight of its princes, the dispersion of its nobles, and the general distress in which all classes of society have been involved. Before the revolution, there were to be seen, in almost every street, elegant carriages with valuable horses, footmen with rich liveries, and all the sumptuous trappings of polished opulence and refined luxury. But now few carriages are to be seen except hackney-coaches, which are of the meanest description; and servants are prohibited by law from wearing any ornaments on their dress which shall mark their situation in life. The foreign ministers at the Hague formerly vied with each other in magnificence and expence; but since the republic has ceased to be an
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efficient state among the potentates of Europe, the grandeur, as well as the number, of the corps diplomatique has been greatly diminished. M. Semonville, the French minister, lives in a princely style; but his establishment, and that of the Spanish ambassador, are the only ones deserving of notice.

Before the revolution which precipitated the French directors from their seats, and placed Bonaparte at the head of the republic, the Batavian directory sometime amused the public with state pageants in imitation of their Gallic brethren. Since that event, such displays of vanity have been rarely indulged in. Some weeks ago there were illuminations and other public rejoicings at the Hague, in commemoration of the anniversary of the convention last year between General Brune and the Duke of York: the directors appeared with little ostentatious state, and were received with few testimonies of popular favour. It is expected, that the change which has taken place in France will ultimately produce an alteration in the Batavian government;

government ; therefore the directors wisely withdraw themselves, as much as their functions will permit, from public observation, and the envy concomitant on exalted rank.

It is the opinion here, both of his friends and enemies, that the stadtholder will never be restored to the government of the United Provinces ; but the former confidently expect that some indemnification will be given him for the loss of his hereditary offices, and the confiscation of his estates. The pensioners of the house of Orange, whose yearly allowance was earned by the merit of actual services, now receive with regularity their salaries from the landed or other possessions of the prince. This humane and benevolent grant of support, which rescued a number of deserving individuals from the severe gripe of poverty, did not take place till two or three years after the settlement of the new government ; but to render this act of magnanimous justice complete, each pensioner was paid with interest the arrears of his salary, and he was not, like other persons who tasted the bounty of the republic, obliged to
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take an oath of hatred to the stadtholder. Delicacy, and a fine sense of religion and honour, would doubtless have prevented many persons from deriving advantage from this national liberality, had conditions been required of them which they could not in conscience submit ; to the compassion of the government which provided for their wants, with a tender regard at the same time for their scruples, cannot therefore be sufficiently admired and praised.

Whatever change takes place in the government of Holland, it must first receive the approbation of the rulers of France ; but it is not probable that any alteration will be attempted, which shall assimilate the executive administration of the Batavian to that of the French republic. The consular government, as it at present exists in France, is entirely repugnant to the cautious and reserved genius of the Dutch nation, and would be highly offensive to the patriotic party. On the dissolution of the present constitution of the Batavian republic, which can scarcely fail to happen in the course of
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a few years, from its defects and insufficiency, a government resembling the states-general, but of a more republican character, will probably be established under the auspices of France. Until the restoration of peace, however, it is not likely that any alterations of magnitude will be attempted.

Had the son of the stadtholder survived, who died about two years ago a general in the imperial service, a powerful party would probably have been formed in Holland in his favour, which would have endeavoured, had circumstances arisen to promote their design, to recal him to his country, and invest him with the dignities which his ancestors enjoyed in the republic. He was a young man of singular courage, and engaging manners; his person and talents were thought to resemble those of his great uncle the illustrious Frederic of Prussia *; and the Dutch beheld

* I use the word illustrious, not in its common sense, to signify eminent for excellence, but to denote a man better known than any king of the same name. I think by no means favourably of Frederic either as a man or a monarch, and the reputation which he enjoys is disgraceful to the discernment of the age.

with partial affection in this prince qualities which reminded him of the heroic actions of Maurice and Frederic-Henry of Nassau. At the time when the party most hostile to the house of Orange viewed the other branches of his family with hatred or contempt, this prince was the object of their jealousy and esteem: they saw with pleasure that the measures of the stadtholder were calculated to increase the popular odium which he had already incurred; and the virtues and splendid abilities of his son excited their fears, lest they should revive in the people their ancient attachment to the house of Orange. It is some proof of the regard with which his memory is cherished, that his picture is exhibited with impunity at most of the print-shops of the Hague and Rotterdam, while a very severe punishment would be inflicted on the print-seller who should be bold enough to sell portraits of the stadtholder or his surviving family; and the most violent republicans with whom I have conversed concurred in bearing testimony to his character. I saw an elegant engraving of him at the

house of a gentleman whose prejudice would not permit a marigold to blow in his garden.

Had this young man, the hopes of the house of Orange, lived, he might have perhaps in time obtained the stadtholderate, or some honourable establishment in the country, where his person was beloved, and his abilities admired. But the survivors of his family possess none of the qualities requisite to create in their favour a party sufficiently powerful to overthrow the present system, and procure their recal. They may indeed recover the territorial estates and rights which belong to the house of Orange, but they can never hope, with any rational prospect of success, to regain that plenitude of power and extensive authority which formerly appertained to their family.

The zealous partisans of the stadtholder, whose inclinations lead them to extol with rapture every shadow which promises to favour their cause, flatter themselves with the hope, that whenever a general peace is made, the King of Prussia, who according to their
notions

notions holds in his hands the balance of Europe, and can restore or dethrone, will attend to the interests of his kinsman, and oblige the French and Batavian republics to reinstate him in his offices. This opinion is so wild and baseless, that I should misemploy my time were I elaborately to combat it.

Since the year 1787, when the arms of Prussia overran Holland, and crushed the party which opposed the stadtholder, the character and views of the court of Berlin have been regarded with much attention and anxiety by the Dutch. The patriots, and all true Hollanders in whose bosoms glowed one spark of remembrance of the ancient feats of their countrymen, beheld with indignation a power which had arisen in Europe within the century, giving laws to, and imposing a master on the republic. Since that period, as their interests or partialities have inclined them, Prussia has been viewed by the Dutch with jealousy, fear, or hope. The character of the present King of Prussia excites no alarms in the patriots, and conse-

quently furnishes little hope, that he will espouse their cause, to the stadtholderian party. He is said to inherit the talents which have distinguished the house of Brandenburg for a century and a half, without much of that dangerous passion for military glory which signalised the reigns of some of his predecessors. His ministers differ in their principles and views from those whom his father employed, and he himself is indefatigable in his attention to the cares of government. His chief ambition is to continue to his subjects the blessings of peace, and to promote in his dominions agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. He possesses the hereditary dislike of his family to the house of Austria, and is thought to entertain sentiments unfavourable to Great Britain, on account of her intimate connection with that power. When the English and Russian troops invaded Holland, large offers, amounting to a dismemberment of the United Provinces in his favour, as a reward for his services, were made him, if he would assist to expel the French from the territories of the republic.

republic. Had he joined to the Anglo-Russian forces an army equal to that which his father sent into Holland in 1787, or made a diversion in favour of the invaders, the French must have been driven out of the republic, and the Batavians subdued. But he maintained the most cautious neutrality, and thereby lost the best opportunity probably which will ever occur, of reinstating his relatives * in their possessions.—In private life he is regular and economical, having neither mistresses nor favourites to dissipate his treasures; and though his reign has yet been undistinguished by any splendid actions, no monarch that ever sat on the throne of Prussia was more respected and beloved by his subjects than Frederic-William III. From this prince it is apparent that the friends of the stadtholder have not much to expect. The present government of Holland is fully recognised by the court of Berlin, and a

* The Princess of Orange is his aunt, and the hereditary prince his brother-in-law.

Prussian minister resides at the Hague. The little trade which remains to the republic is chiefly carried on under the protection of the Prussian flag, and commercial consuls of that nation are established at every considerable port.—As I shall have occasion to speak at large hereafter on the present state of the commerce of Holland, I shall now return to what is strictly connected with the Hague.

During that bright period of French literature, when the writings of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Rousseau, &c. were eagerly sought after by the learned and curious of Europe, the booksellers at the Hague and Amsterdam with great spirit multiplied the editions of these authors, and carried on a lucrative trade with their works, in all parts where they have been permitted to vend them. Of late, however, not a single book above the size of a pamphlet has appeared from the Hague press, and the booksellers venture on few of the costly publications which have lately been printed at Paris.

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The decay of this trade, the only one of consequence which was ever carried on at the Hague, arises more from the causes which have involved in ruin the commerce of the United Provinces, than from the circumstance that France has not of late years produced literary works of much reputation. At the principal shop in the Hague, that of Du Four, who is also a bookseller at Amsterdam, I saw a catalogue of recent French publications, and some of them I was desirous to purchase, but they could not furnish me with a single book which I wanted: those with which chiefly they were supplied, were the voyages of French navigators, and some novels translated from the English, amongst which I recognised, with sincere pleasure, in a new garb, the productions of some valuable and esteemed friends.

The extinction of the literary traffic of the Hague is scarcely felt, and little lamented by any persons except those immediately concerned in it. But the want of the court, and of the opulent strangers which it attracted

to this place, is severely felt by numbers. Before the revolution, the Hague not only contained its own princes of the house of Orange, but several petty princes of the German empire, who spent here the revenues which accrued to them from their territories. These personages are all fled, and the same frugality and simplicity of manners begin to prevail at the Hague, which distinguish other parts of Holland, to the utter ruin of all those whose livelihood depended on the superfluous wants of the great. As the seat of the executive government, and of the representative bodies, the Hague enjoys advantages which other towns of the republic do not possess; but these advantages are vastly inferior to the benefits which it derived from the stadtholder and his court, and most persons, even republicans, sorrowfully complain of its striking and rapid decay. Respectable families, which before the arrival of the French lived in elegant houses cheerfully situated, now retire to lodgings, or inhabit narrow, uncomfortable streets where house-

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rent is cheap, and the abodes which they have quitted are generally without tenants.

We visited, in an obscure street, a widow lady of an advanced age, whose fortune the revolution had dreadfully impaired. She remembered the Hague in its happiest days, and dilated on the magnificence and splendour she had formerly witnessed and enjoyed. Her husband had been tutor to the Prince of Orange, of whom she spoke in terms of almost idolatrous admiration; and therefore her partialities probably led her to exaggerate the former affluent and gay, the present decayed and impoverished, state of the Hague. But it is a general complaint that this beautiful place has suffered much by the revolution, and few believe that it will ever recover its pristine grandeur.

The French troops which are quartered in the Hague amount to about twelve hundred men; and are under the command of General Victor, who distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Marengo. General Victor is commander in chief of the French forces in the service of the Batavian republic, and

and is out of comparison more respected than his predecessor, notwithstanding the important services which General Brune rendered to the republic. The French troops, which do not exceed at present eight thousand men, receive their pay from, and are wholly maintained by, the Batavian government. The pay of a French soldier is difficult to ascertain, because it varies according to circumstances, the nature of the service on which he is employed, the quarters he inhabits, and the provisions with which he is supplied; but the average of his daily pay is from six pence to ten pence. The delicacy of the subject prevented me from enquiring, of the persons best able to give me information, what pay is allowed to the superior officers; but I learnt with considerable surprise from an officer of high rank, that the third military station in the republic produces only a revenue of six hundred florins a month to the person who holds it*, and yet is accounted a very desirable command†. Eco-

* About fifty pounds English money.

† Un très beau commandement.

nomy was always a prevailing feature of the Dutch government, and the recent calamities which have fallen so heavy on the state, have probably caused a more than ordinarily vigilant attention to be paid to the disbursements of the public purse.

LETTER VIII.

Departure from the Hague.—Description of a treckschuyt.—Custom of smoking in Holland.—Exchange between London and Rotterdam.—Depreciation of the notes of the Bank of England.—Forgeries.—Delft.—Decay of its potteries.—Treatment of the sick and wounded of the British army in 1795 by the burgers of Delft.—Breweries.—Politeness of a French soldier.—Leyden.—Dutch houses.—Streets of Leyden.—Stadthouse.—Pictures.—Vigorous defence of the inhabitants of Leyden against the Spaniards in 1573.—Noble sentiments of a burgomaster.—University of Leyden.—Number of students.

Leyden, November, 1800.

UNDER the impresson that we should never visit it again, and delighted with its beauties, we quitted the Hague with feelings of regret. None of the expectations raised
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in our minds by the report of the magnificence of that charming village had been disappointed, and we had derived unlooked-for pleasure and advantage, from agreeable society and curious information.

The disasters of our former voyage did not intimidate us from again embarking in a treckschuyt ; and I shall now describe to you a mode of travelling which has three excellent qualities to recommend it—cheapness, regularity, and security. I say security, for such storms as that to the violence of which we were exposed, do not perhaps occur above once in a century, and unless it blows a hurricane there is no danger to be apprehended in these boats. A treckschuyt is a covered barge, divided into two apartments ; the after one, called the roof, which is superior in point of accommodations, contains from eight to a dozen persons, and the other from forty to fifty, according to the size of the boat. This vessel is drawn by a single horse, and moves so precisely at the rate of four miles an hour, that people in Holland universally compute the distance from place to place

place by the time which the passage occupies, not by miles as in England. The price for a seat in the roof, or cabin, is about three pence an hour; and, if it is not crowded with passengers, scarcely any mode of travelling can be more agreeable, unless expedition is required. In this apartment there are generally four windows, a table in the middle, with seats on each side of it covered with handsome cushions; and, according to the fancy of the skipper, or master, of the boat, this little cabin is otherwise ornamented with pictures or looking-glasses. The motion of a treckschuyt is so steady, that a person may read or write at his ease; or from the windows he can enjoy a pleasant prospect of the country, of numerous villages and seats which skirt the canals, or of vessels for the purposes of pleasure or business, which are constantly passing and repassing. Treckschuyts are the stage-coaches of Holland: they depart every hour, in various directions, from most of the considerable towns of the republic; and arriving at the appointed time at the place of their destination, passengers who wish to proceed

ceed further find boats ready to set out immediately. By means of these useful vessels, an easy intercourse exists between the most distant parts of the republic, and the cheapness of the conveyance allows its benefits to be felt by the poorest people. To a Dutchman, a treckschuyt is the most agreeable conveyance imaginable. He smokes in it or sleeps in it, as his inclination leads him; and is neither shook by the agitation of the vessel, nor disturbed by the velocity of its motion. He knows to the eighth part of a penny the sum which his journey will cost him, and he can calculate with equal accuracy the moment when he shall arrive at the end of it. If his journey is long, he either carries with him a little store of provisions, or purchases a frugal dinner at the place where the boat usually stops for a few minutes at the hour of that meal. He does not then go on shore to eat his dinner, but a steak is expeditiously brought to him, with such other refreshments as the house affords, or he chooses to have; and when that matter is arranged, which never occupies more than five minutes, the
treckschuyt

treckschuyt immediately proceeds. Some of these advantages may be enjoyed in common by an Englishman, but he is occasionally exposed to disagreeable circumstances in these vessels, which detract much from their advantages.

We left the Hague at three in the afternoon for Delft, having previously, which is a necessary precaution, taken places in the roof of the treckschuyt. Two ladies and a gentleman were our fellow passengers to that place, where we quitted the boat to walk through the town to a canal from whence a treckschuyt was ready to set off for Rotterdam.

The cabin of this boat, to our extreme mortification, was so crowded, that we could not obtain seats in it, and therefore we were obliged to take our places with the common passengers. It was now dark, and one miserable candle only illuminated a long apartment, which contained five-and-twenty or thirty people. On our departure, all the windows of this place were shut, to exclude the air, except that, near which we sat, which
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was permitted to remain open, though not without violent opposition, out of courtesy to us strangers, who particularly requested it should. The heat arising from the chauffepies, or foot-stoves, of the women, the tobacco-pipes of the men, and the air vitiated by the respiration of so many human beings, was intolerable.

The custom of smoking is so prevalent in Holland, that a genuine Dutch boor, instead of describing the distances of places by miles or hours, says they are so many pipes asunder. Thus a man may reach Delft from Rotterdam in four pipes; but if he goes on to the Hague, the journey will cost him seven. Of our fellow-passengers, fifteen at least were resolute smokers. Shall I describe the effects produced on us by the fuliginous vapours of so many pipes, or by the saliva they caused, which almost covered the floor of the cabin? No! No! It is sufficient to say we arrived at Rotterdam, with aching heads, and diseased stomachs. A treckschuyt is nevertheless an excellent conveyance.

The business which called us to Rotterdam

was to procure cash for bills on London. I was readily accommodated by two gentlemen, to whose politeness and attention I am otherwise much indebted. The exchange between Rotterdam and London on bills payable three days after sight, is at the difference of the enormous sum of twelve per cent in favour of the former city. This difference is not so much caused by the balance of trade, which is to the advantage of Rotterdam, as by the ideas which prevail on the continent of the financial embarrassments of the British nation, and the depreciation which the notes of the Bank of England have undergone, since that body has ceased to issue cash for their paper. Could I have given bills on Hamburgh, I could have had cash for them almost at par ; or could I have engaged that my drafts should be paid in London with specie, the difference in the exchange would have been considerably less. It is the opinion of very intelligent merchants at Rotterdam, that whenever peace is restored to Europe, should the bank of England not resume paying its notes in cash, the
exchange

exchange with London will be still more unfavourable to that city, for then in every commercial sense the bank must be accounted insolvent, and its paper of no more value than French assignats. One cause which tends to depreciate the notes of the bank of England on the continent is, the great quantities of forged ones which are circulated in the north of Germany, the Netherlands, Brabant, and Holland, and the immense losses which the merchants have thereby sustained. These notes are principally of the denomination of five or ten pounds, and skilfully executed. The engraving of the forged notes is said to be neater than that of the real ones, and the ink of a brighter black. But on the whole the imperfections of the genuine notes are well imitated. I could gain no information where these forgeries are supposed to be fabricated, and I will not hazard any conjectures of my own. The jews are charged with ushering them into circulation, but this accusation, like many other calumnies which have been

invented against this despised race, is probably devoid of foundation.

We travelled from Rotterdam to this city by the canals, without any of the disagreeable circumstances which attended our former excursions by water. The weather was pleasant ; we had seats in the roof of the *treckschuyt*, and the company were polite and agreeable. As we had hitherto had but an imperfect view of Delft, we staid some time in that city to survey its buildings and curiosities.

Delft is a neat, well built town, abounding, like all places in Holland, with canals, bridges, and trees*. In the new church is shewn a monument of indifferent execution, which was erected by the states-general in honour of William I. Prince of Orange, who was assassinated here by an emissary of

* Delft is the birth-place of Hugo Grotius, and its inhabitants are reproached that they have not erected a statue in honour of their fellow-citizen, as the burghers of Rotterdam have done to the memory of Erasmus.

Philip II. in 1584: and there are also monuments to the memory of Prince Maurice and Frederic-Henry. Delft was formerly famous for its manufactures of earthen-ware, which rivalled the porcelain of China, and was generally sought after and esteemed throughout Europe, for its elegance and beauty. At present scarcely five hundred persons are employed in the potteries of this place, which in their most flourishing days gave subsistence to upwards of ten thousand labourers. The same jealousy, however, towards strangers is still observed here; and unless a traveller is well recommended, he cannot obtain a sight of their manufactures. The decay of this branch of commerce doubtless arises in part from the same causes which have enfeebled the republic, as the dissensions of domestic parties, the expensive wars in which the state has been involved, and the dreadful termination of its hostilities with France; but the more prominent causes of this astonishing decay are, the immense quantities of porcelain which for a century and a half have been imported into Europe

from China, and the rival manufactures which in that time have been established in Germany and England. The earthen-ware of Staffordshire was some years ago so much approved of in Holland, that the states-general, in order to protect the manufacturers of Delft from absolute ruin, were obliged to lay duties on its importation into the republic, which were so severe as to amount almost to an entire prohibition.

It is perhaps because they have rivalled and surpassed them in their staple manufacture, that the citizens of Delft bear a rooted animosity to the natives of Great Britain. In an inclement season of the year, the brave sick and wounded of the British army, which defended Holland, were refused admission into this town, where they thought to find succour and relief *; their wounds and dis-

* Before the revolution, every considerable town in the republic was possessed to a certain degree of an independent jurisdiction, by means of which it could refuse the admission of foreign troops into it, unless the orders of the states-general were peremptory to the contrary effect. The dislike of the city of Delft to the English was slightly alluded to in letter the sixth.

eases procured them no pity, though their blood had been shed, and their health wasted (but ineffectually), for the preservation of the republic. The gates of the place were shut against them, and the armed burghers of the town harshly repulsed the miserable wretches, who solicited shelter, warmth, and food. These unhappy beings were exposed, with their sores and diseases, to the aggravated evils of hunger and cold, experiencing at the hand of their allies a treatment more severe, than would have been their lot had they fallen into the power of the enemy.

Delft is famous in Holland for its beer breweries, as well as for its manufactures of porcelain; and I must acknowledge that London porter is imitated with tolerable success. If, however, it is drank out of the cask it is very inferior, but after it has been in bottles some time its taste is nearly as agreeable as London bottled porter, from which it is difficult to distinguish it.

I should not mention that we were detained about half an hour, in a mean cabaret, on the canal which leads to Leyden, waiting

for the departure of the treckschuyt, but to relate an incident which happened to us. The turf-fire of the room in which we sat was so surrounded by Dutch soldiers, smoking and drinking gin, that neither of us received any heat from it; and though the evening was cold, they kept their places with frigid unconcern. We had not been seated long before a French soldier came into the apartment, and feeling for our uncomfortable situation, he immediately insisted that the Dutch should make room for us near the fire. This the boors reluctantly complied with, and our obliging Frenchman seated himself beside us: drinking a glass of Bourdeaux wine, which perhaps he ordered for the occasion, he said, with a politeness and gallantry which certainly belonged to the old school, moving at the same time his hat with a very aristocratical grace, “*Madame et monsieur, tout ce qui vous puis faire plaisir ** ;” and when the boat was ready to

* Sir, madam, I wish you every thing that can give you pleasure.

set off, he escorted us to it, and cordially wished us a good voyage.

Leyden is the second city in magnitude of the United Provinces, and inferior to none in the spaciousness and elegance of its buildings, the utility of its public institutions, and the agreeable manners of its inhabitants. It is situated on the ancient bed of the Rhine, the diminished waters of which river fill an inconsiderable canal that bears its name, and at a very short distance from the city, mingling with larger streams, it is no longer known by its classical appellation. The houses of Leyden are built with their gable ends to the streets, in the old Dutch taste; which is infinitely more pleasant to the sight in a town where every thing else is Dutch, than clumsy attempts at Grecian or Italian architecture. A Dutch house in the old style of building is generally six stories high, the three first of which are of an equal breadth, but of unequal heights; from the third story the roof rises to a point, and the rooms of this part of the house necessarily diminish in size as they approach to
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the apex of the building. The front wall of the upper apartments projects so from the roof as nearly to hide it, unless viewed in profile; and the exterior of each room diminishes till that of the attic story is two-thirds less than the basement. To the aperture of the upper room, which is closed with a wood shutter, is commonly fixed a small crane, for the purpose of hoisting up wood and turf; and these cranes sometimes have grotesque heads carved upon them. The windows and doors of most houses are painted green, and the brick-work often white or black, where there are projections or diversity of masonry.

The principal streets of Leyden are broad, long, and well paved, rising in the middle, so that no water can remain upon them, and the same rigid cleanliness prevails here as in other parts of Holland. The street in which the stadthoufe is placed, is accounted by the inhabitants of this city one of the finest in Europe. It extends, with an inconsiderable curve, from one extremity of Leyden to the other, and is about two miles in length.

length. All the houses in it are elegant and neat ; and beside the stadthouse, which is a magnificent building, it is ornamented with an hospital of fine appearance and great extent, and other public erections.

In the halls of the stadthouse are preserved some good pictures, which are well deserving the notice of a traveller. The principal one representing the Last Judgment, is a picture of great antiquity, painted on wood by Lucas Van Leyden. It is divided into three compartments, which fold by means of hinges together, and so protect the piece from the injuries of the air. The contrast between the angels and devils, the joy of the blessed, and the despair of the damned, is skilfully managed. But the picture to which your attention is peculiarly called by the person who conducts you over the stadthouse, describes a story of great interest in the annals of this city. It represents the famished inhabitants of Leyden, after they had by their valour and constancy obliged the Spaniards to raise the siege of their town, eagerly devouring the relief which was brought them by their countrymen.

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The memory of this siege is still preserved by the citizens of Leyden, with annual rejoicings and festivities; and once in seven years a kind of jubilee is held in honour of that great event. In consequence of the gallant defence made by its inhabitants, and the dreadful miseries which they suffered, the states-general, to reward their bravery and patience, founded in Leyden the noble university which has since reflected so much honour on that city, and been attended with important benefits to philosophy and science.

In 1573, the Spaniards, flushed with the conquest of Haarlem, laid siege to Alkmaer; but finding the place too strong for their forces, they turned their arms against Leyden. The approach of Prince Frederic of Nassau, with a considerable body of men, drove them for a short time from their trenches; but having procured re-inforcements, they returned, and, according to the practice of the age, being apprehensive they should not be able to take the city by force, they turned the siege into a blockade. The
Spanish

Spanish general, Frederic of Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, repulsed a body of English auxiliaries which were coming to the relief of the besieged, and otherwise so vigilantly conducted the blockade, that the inhabitants of Leyden were reduced by famine to the most deplorable distress. Disheartened by their miserable situation, and hopeless of relief, the burghers of the town assembled in great numbers about the house of Peter Adrian de Werf, a man of much influence and authority in the place, and loudly and mutinously exclaimed, that the town must surrender, or its inhabitants would perish of hunger. But this man, who possessed the firmness of Cato, and preferred to die rather than see his country under the dominion of a tyrant, expostulated with the mob, and said, "It is indifferent to me, whether I perish by means of the enemy, or the hands of my fellow-citizens. Kill me then, if you have the courage, and appease your hunger with my miserable carcase." The firmness of Adrian inspired his fellow-citizens with pa-

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tience and resolution; they returned to their duties with cheerfulness, and endured the most pressing extremities of famine with heroic fortitude. When every article of subsistence was consumed, the bodies of the dead furnished a horrid food for the support of the living, and still the citizens of Leyden defended with invincible resolution their town. At length the Dutch confederates, having no other means of relieving their distressed countrymen, broke down the dykes of the Maese and the Yffel, and inundated the Spanish camp, and the beautiful country which surrounds Leyden. This desperate measure obliged the Spanish general to evacuate his camp; and the besieged town, after having suffered the most terrible distress, was relieved. This siege, which commenced shortly after Easter, was raised the third of October, and the same day a supply of provisions was brought to the famished inhabitants of the place, who for upwards of five months had suffered unspeakable distress.

The university of Leyden, which is the
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most ancient in the United Provinces, and has enjoyed the greatest share of reputation, was founded the year following this dreadful siege, by the states-general and Prince William of Orange, to reward the citizens for the unparalleled bravery and constancy with which they defended their town. This institution has had the good fortune to number among its professors and scholars some of the most learned men and excellent physicians that Europe has produced. In its infancy, the younger Scaliger, Heinsius, and Salmasius, prosecuted the study of the ancient languages in this university, with a success which has not since been surpassed; and after their times, Boerhaave, in the physical chair, filled Leyden with medical students from all parts of Europe. To mention all the great scholars and physicians whom this university has produced would be a laborious employment. There is perhaps no science which the professors of Leyden have not eminently contributed to illustrate, no branch of polite literature in which they have not excelled.

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The present professors in the university of Leyden are persons of respectable talents and merit ; but I am prevented from gaining all the information respecting the university which I hoped to obtain, by the unfortunate absence of the gentleman to whom we had letters of recommendation. The schools of Leyden have suffered in the general calamities which have befallen the republic ; and the number of students in the university, particularly of foreigners, is greatly reduced. The names of students at present on the books of the university do not exceed a hundred and fifty, and of these how many enrol themselves on the academical lists from no very laudable motives, it is difficult to ascertain. What I allude to is this: since the establishment of liberty and equality in the United Provinces, every person eligible to the militia is obliged actually to serve in the corps of the district to which he belongs ; whereas before the revolution, such as could afford to furnish a substitute were exempt from personal service. The ingenuous youth, who attend the universities of the republic

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to pursue their studies, are free from this dangerous and disagreeable service, and therefore many enter themselves as students with no other view than that they may enjoy this privilege. This class of students I am inclined to believe is more numerous than that of the youth who attend the university according to the spirit of the institution.

LETTER IX.

The botanic garden.—Palm-tree.—Antiques.—Theatre of anatomy.—Public library.—Portraits of illustrious Dutchmen.—Medallions of English republicans.—St. Peter's church, a place of confinement for the English and Russian prisoners.—The gazette of Leyden.—Dutch newspapers.—Woollen manufactures of Leyden. Probable state of the university when peace shall be restored.

Leyden, November, 1800.

THE botanic garden of Leyden, which belongs to the university, has enjoyed for a century and a half a distinguished reputation throughout Europe. It occupies about four acres of ground, and is in excellent order. Many of the trees and plants (those probably which are the rarest), have scrolls of parchment attached to them, on which is written, for the use of students, a description

tion of them according to the Linnean system. The gardener shewed us a palm-tree which was in existence when the Spaniards were masters of the United Provinces; and this afforded him an opportunity, which no citizen of Leyden ever loses, of descanting on the courage, constancy, and sufferings, of the old inhabitants of the town.

In the garden is an apartment for the reception of statues, altars, and other antiques, which were presented to the university by a burgomaster of the town. Many of the statues are considerably mutilated. Of those which are in a tolerable state of preservation, a bacchus and a bacchinal, Servilius, a full figure of a Roman consul, and the busts of Nero and Agrippina, were the best.

From this apartment, the stranger is conducted into another, which contains a small collection of natural history. The birds and beasts of this collection, and particularly the latter, which have not the advantage of being kept in glass frames, are so wretchedly preserved, that it is impossible for a person

unaccustomed to such sights, to look upon them without extreme disgust. Half the face of the Hippopotamus, which holds a conspicuous place among these rarities, is consumed or disfigured by the animalculæ which it has produced; and similar depredations have been committed to a greater extent on most of the quadrupeds in the collection. The specimens of the mineral kingdom, which are numerous and elegant, are well arranged in this apartment in handsome mahogany cases, and to the most remarkable of them is affixed a technical description.

We saw both these halls and their contents to great disadvantage, for a number of carpenters were at work in them, making alterations and improvements; and, consequently, the statues, beasts, &c. were in disorder and confusion. When the improvements are finished, which are to a laudable extent, and will be attended with a considerable expence, the collection of natural history and antiques will appear to much more advantage than they at present do, and particularly if proper pains be taken to clean
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the animals, and supply the parts of them which have been destroyed or disfigured through want of care. But whatever embellishments the liberality of the university may bestow on this collection, it will be found far inferior to the rare assemblage of curiosities which was formed by the zeal, industry, and taste, of a private individual of our own times and nation *.

At a short distance from the botanic garden, is the theatre of anatomy, which has supplied the world with so many excellent physicians. It contains a numerous and valuable collection of subjects relative to anatomy and pathology, and the whole is arranged with admirable neatness and care. The assemblage of *lufus naturæ* in this theatre is extremely curious, and abounds in

* Sir Ashton Lever. The museum which bears the name of this gentleman is an honour to the English nation. It is perhaps the best collection of natural history in Europe; and is equally to be praised for the variety of its articles, the excellence of their preservation, and the judgment with which they are arranged.

every imaginable species of deformity. A child with two heads, the unhappy offspring of a peasant's wife in Friesland, who survived this monstrous delivery many years, claims particular attention. I have seen a conception of a similar kind, in the anatomical preparations of Mr. Ingham of Newcastle in Northumberland, a gentleman of great erudition and science, whose professional character and extensive medical knowledge are above any eulogium of mine. The mention of this person recalls to my mind his son, whose premature death, about a twelve-month ago, excited universal regret. He was a youth of most promising talents, and uncommon goodness of heart. To a powerful and ready genius, he united unwearied application in the pursuit of knowledge; qualities for which minds of singular vigour are rarely distinguished: and perhaps his early loss to society, which he was so admirably fitted to adorn and improve, may in a great measure be attributed to that indefatigable diligence which, enlarging the mind,

disables

disables the body from resisting the attacks of disease.

The public library of Leyden is chiefly celebrated for the stores of oriental literature which it contains. Joseph Scaliger bequeathed to it a valuable collection of Hebrew books; and Golius, who filled for many years with great reputation the Arabic professorship of the university, enriched it with the rare Persian, Chaldee, Arabic, Turkish, and other manuscripts, which he brought with him from the east. The manuscripts which repose in this library amount to eight thousand, and form its principal treasures. The heavy volumes of controversial divinity, which crowd the shelves, far exceed the proportion which they contain of elegant and valuable literature. But these dull remains of a bigotted and unenlightened age do not appear to be much looked into, and the good sense of the approaching century may perhaps dispossess them of the places which they so unworthily fill. Among the publications of a recent date, I saw the histories of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, and the

Transactions of the Royal and Antiquarian societies of London ; but no English books since the commencement of the present war with Holland. The last addition to the library, were some magnificent folios, describing the antiquities of Herculaneum, which were a present from the king of Spain. The books are principally bound in parchment, which is extremely white and pleasing to the eye ; and they are mostly gilded and ornamented with much elegance and taste, the decorations being suitable to the subject of the book.

The library contains some good portraits of eminent Dutchmen : of Erasmus, at various periods of his life ; of Grotius ; and Janus Douze, who distinguished himself equally in arms and letters. During the siege of Leyden he was one of its bravest defenders, and his conduct on that occasion was so highly approved of by the Prince of Orange, that the government of the city was afterwards entrusted to his care. A portrait of Daniel Heinsius, and a miniature of Sir Thomas More, by Hans Holbein, whose patronage

patronage of Erasmus probably procured his head the honour of a place among the Dutch *savans*, are deserving of peculiar specification. But the most striking portrait is that of Hugo Donellus, which was painted after death. The clay-cold paleness of the countenance, and that expression which the agonies of death have given to the features, are most exquisitely described. It is painted on wood, and in excellent preservation. I am seriously mortified that I could not learn the name of the artist.

There are also in the library, carved in ivory to resemble medallions, the likenesses of some Englishmen distinguished for their attachment to civil and religious liberty, as Wickliff, Harrington, Milton, Marvel, Ludlow, &c. They were executed, I understood, by an English refugee, who took shelter in Holland from the cruelties of James II. after the failure of the Duke of Monmouth's unhappy expedition, in which he bore a share, and continued to reside at Leyden till his death. The carvings
are

are neat, and certainly no disgrace to the library.

The church of St. Peter, the principal one in Leyden, is a large heavy building, in the Gothic style of architecture. Like other Dutch churches, it is without pews, and the congregation are seated on chairs. It is heated by two or more large stoves, and we found its warmth very agreeable; but, notwithstanding, the Dutch ladies invariably use chauffepies. Near the pulpit is an half-hour glass, which the preacher turns when he begins his sermon, and the congregation are satisfied (probably with reason) if his discourse last no longer than till the sand is run out.

In this church were confined the English and Russian soldiers which were taken prisoners last year at Alkmaer. The Russians were impressed with the belief that they were preserved from immediate slaughter, to be guillotined or hanged, and perceiving three large brass chandeliers, suspended by chains from the roof of this church, they imagined
a Russian

a Russian soldier was to be hung from each branch of the chandeliers. Their joy was extravagant when they found their fears were ill founded, and they embraced their French and Dutch guards as saviours and protectors. It added to their happiness, that they were well fed, comfortably sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather, and abundantly furnished with straw for beds. The church of Leyden, both in point of accommodations and provisions, was probably a palace compared with any dwelling which they had hitherto inhabited, and the men whom they regarded as their deadly and sanguinary enemy, they found to be generous and hospitable friends.

In later times, the Gazette of Leyden bore that kind of reputation in England which formerly was attached to the Brussels Gazette, with this difference, that the Leyden paper leaned with unwarrantable partiality to the politics of the stadtholder and Great Britain, while that of Brussels favoured their enemies, and therefore was received in England with almost

almost unlimited favour and belief. When the conquest of the republic became inevitable, the editors and proprietors of this journal, who had rendered themselves thoroughly obnoxious to the French and the republican party, by their daily abuse of the revolution and their entire devotion to the stadtholder, quitted Leyden with precipitation. Since that period the gazette of Leyden has been conducted by men of diametrically opposite opinions and partialities, and it now breathes a spirit of hostility to Great Britain as implacable as that of any paper which is published within the territories of the Batavian republic. I should not omit to mention that to every Dutch newspaper, as well as to all the proclamations and ordinances of the Batavian directory, the words *vreyheid*, *gelykberd*, and *broderschap* liberty, equality, and fraternity, are prefixed. They pay an inconsiderable duty to the state, and do not much exceed one fourth of the price of an English newspaper.

In the centre of Leyden is a tumulus, or
fort,

fort, said to have been built by Hengist the Saxon prince, which is elevated above the tops of the highest houses, and commands an extensive view over the town. The top is surrounded by a wall, on which small pieces of cannon might be mounted, and contains, in a circle of about 150 paces, a labyrinth of trees, a basin of water, and benches and tables for the accommodation of visitors. In fine weather the citizens of Leyden resort to this place to drink tea, and smoke their pipes. The ascent to it is by an easy flight of steps, and at convenient distances there are seats to rest the weary. I have never seen a more agreeable place of recreation in the centre of a large and populous city. Those who frequent it, breathe on its top a wholesome and elastic air, and enjoy a fine prospect of the sea, the lake of Haarlem, the city of Leyden, and the surrounding meadows.

Leyden formerly vied with Amsterdam and the Hague, for the number of valuable publications in modern literature which issued from its press, and much exceeded them in the variety of classical works which it produced.

The

The Elzevirs, justly celebrated for the correct and beautiful editions which they have given the world of the best writers of antiquity, resided in this city, and ennobled its press by the elegant specimens of typography which for the long course of a century appeared from their printing-office. But for the last fifty years this branch of trade has declined rapidly, and it may be considered at present as extinct. There are, however, some respectable booksellers' shops, where choice collections of the classics are to be seen, which sell at a much more reasonable price than they are to be bought for in England; and for modern publications, Murray in the Breestraet may rank with the most eminent bibliopolists in Europe.

The woollen manufactory of Leyden, which half a century ago gave employment to several thousand industrious workmen, and was a perennial fountain of wealth to the city, is now in the last stage of decay. If its manufactures never rivalled in the fineness of their articles the looms of England, their coarse cloths found a ready sale on the continent,

continent, and the East and West-India companies procured them markets in the other quarters of the globe. As the commerce of Holland declined, that of Great Britain increased, and the manufacturers of Yorkshire, to the ruin of those of Leyden, found a vent for their commodities in most of the considerable markets of America and Asia, where the English cloth became in such estimation, that Dutch merchants trading to those ports soon discovered it was to their advantage to send out English cloths in preference to the manufactures of their own country. The woollen trade of Leyden also received much injury on the continent, from the establishment of extensive looms in various parts of Germany and the Netherlands, which then ceased to draw any considerable supplies from Holland; and the present war with England, by suspending nearly all exterior commerce, has almost filled up the measure of its misfortunes.

What advantage the restoration of peace will produce to the staple-trade of Leyden, or whether it will ever revive to any extent
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of consequence, are points which I do not feel competent or inclined to discuss. The probable fate of its university, when the sword shall be sheathed, and harmony restored to Europe, is a subject more congenial to my heart.

A period of general warfare is unfavourable to all seminaries of learning, because it calls into the active employments of military life, a number of youths of fortune and condition who probably otherwise would have embraced some of the erudite professions, or at least have completed their education in a college. From this cause the university of Leyden has suffered a diminution of its students in common with all the public academies of Europe, but more than those of Great Britain and the other states, into whose territories the actual flames of war have not been carried. It has also sustained a great loss of students from the interruption of the intercourse between the republic and those countries (the dominions of the Emperor and Great Britain) from whence Leyden attracted every year many pupils.

A few

A few years of tranquillity, under the care of skilful and learned professors, will probably restore the university of Leyden to much of its former lustre. The neatness and accommodations of the city, the grave and sober manners of its inhabitants, the purity of the air, and the beauty of the vicinage, are circumstances which strongly recommend the university of this place, and eminently qualify it for studious retirement and instruction.

LETTER X.

Departure from Leyden.—Haerlem.—Dutch cleanliness.—Custom of smoking. Prevalency of the use of tobacco in Holland.—Famous organ of Haerlem. The revolution has not altered the dress or manners of the Dutch.—Coins the same as before the revolution.—House of Mr. Hope.—Haerlem claims the honour of having invented the art of printing.—Laurence Costar.—Defence of Haerlem against the Spaniards.—Violation of the articles of capitulation by Frederic of Toledo.—The infancy of the republic the brightest period in its annals.—Gueses.—Museum of natural history.—Its scientific arrangement.—Teylerian institution.—Bleacheries of Haerlem.

Haerlem, November, 1800:

WE passed from Leyden to this city in the usual conveyance of the country, the treckschuyt, and having places in the roof, sociable company, and the advantage of fine weather, the voyage was uncommonly pleasant.

fant. The distance from Leyden to Haerlem is about fifteen miles. On one side of the canal lies the lake of Haerlem, a piece of navigable water, about fourteen miles in length and twelve in breadth, and on the other a diversified and agreeable country.

Haerlem is a neat well-built city, but inferior to Leyden in the spaciousness of its streets, the elegance of its buildings, and the general air of propriety which reigns throughout the latter. Like the other towns of Holland, it abounds in canals, bridges, and trees; and its inhabitants are to be praised for their strict and unwearied attention to cleanliness. Some writers have attributed this virtue in the Dutch nation to the excessive humidity of their climate, which would mould their wood and rust their metals, were they not to prevent or cure the evil by the most scrupulous cleanliness; and I believe the observation is true. Were they not almost daily washed, and the pernicious influence of the atmosphere thereby counteracted, the damp air of Holland would in a few years rot and consume the

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perishable

perishable materials of which buildings are composed. For this reason the paint-work of their houses is kept in excellent condition, and parts of them are painted and varnished which might be thought not to need such a protection. The same rigid attention to cleanliness equally pervades the interior of the houses in Holland, and is often carried to an excess that is inconvenient and disgusting to strangers. -I allude to the odious custom which the Dutch have, who smoke after dinner, of introducing a spitting-pot upon the table, with the wine and glasses, which is handed round as regularly as the bottle, to the great annoyance of those who do not smoke, yet are obliged to pass the execrable utensil to their neighbours, in order that all who have occasion may discharge their saliva into it.

The custom of smoking, I am assured, does not prevail near so much in Holland at present as it did twenty years ago, and this is used as an argument to prove that the national character of the Dutch is wearing off. But I am somewhat at a loss to conceive
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how the custom could be more general than it at present is. It is impossible to go into a coffee-house in the morning, even at an early hour, if a few guests are assembled, without being offended with the fumes of tobacco; and near exchange hours, or after dinner, the suffocating vapours which arise from twenty or thirty smokers are intolerable to persons whose lungs are not habituated to such a fumigation. All Dutchmen of the lower classes of society, and not a few in the higher walks of life, carry in their pockets the whole apparatus which is necessary for smoking:—a box of enormous size, which frequently contains half a pound of tobacco; a pipe of clay or ivory, according to the fancy or wealth of the possessor; if the latter, instruments to clean it: a pricker to remove obstructions from the tube of the pipe; a cover of brass wire for the bowl, to prevent the ashes or sparks of the tobacco from flying out; and sometimes a tinder-box, or bottle of phosphorus, to procure fire, in case none is at hand.

The excuse of the Dutch for their slavish

attachment to tobacco, in the most offensive form in which it can be exhibited, is, that the smoke of this transatlantic weed preserves them from many disorders to which they are liable from the moisture of the atmosphere of their country, and enables them to bear cold and wet without inconvenience. This notion has perhaps contributed to the use of tobacco in Holland, by furnishing its votaries with something like an apology for their practice; but the majority of smokers doubtless use tobacco for the narcotic, stupifying effects, which its fumes produce. The consumption of tobacco as a masticatory is not near so great in Holland among the boors and sailors, as it is among the common people of England; and snuff, the most elegant and harmless form in which the herb can be used, is not often to be met with among the higher orders of society. In a carriage, or on horseback, a Dutchman smokes his pipe with equal content and satisfaction, and boys of eight or ten years of age, in every other respect to be praised for their diffidence and modesty, are permitted and encouraged to imitate,

imitate, in the use of tobacco, the baneful example of their elders. At the houses of the middling classes of society, where national manners are predominate, the first civility which a stranger usually receives is the offer of a pipe, or at least it accompanies the mention of any kind of refreshment, and no hour of the day is thought unseasonable for the luxury of smoking. I have often disappointed the exercise of this branch of Dutch hospitality; and it sometimes happened, that the persons whom I so refused, particularly if they were in mean situations of life, seemed to judge ill of my understanding for wanting the sense to relish the weed of which the nation approved.

At Overschie, the miserable village which I formerly mentioned, where we were compelled by a storm to lodge all night, the landlord, with an earnestness which was the best assurance of his entire belief in its efficacy, entreated me to smoke a pipe, to prevent any bad consequences happening to me from the drenching rain, which had wetted me to the skin; and my refusal to try his

specific excited in him a mixture of surprise and contempt. Elsewhere the officious waiters have brought me after dinner tobacco and a pipe, and always appeared ridiculously astonished when with strong tokens of disgust I ordered them to be removed.

In the great church of Haarlem stands the famous organ, which is the largest, and thought to be the finest, instrument of that kind in the world. By paying a ducat to the organist, and half-a-crown to the bellows blower, we heard it about an hour. It is an instrument of astonishing compass of powers. Some of its notes are so delicate as scarcely to exceed the warblings of a small singing bird, others so loud as to shake the massy pile in which it stands. We expected to receive much pleasure from the *vox humana*, or pipe which imitates the sound of the human voice, for we had heard it greatly extolled; but high expectations are too often disappointed, and we found the *vox humana* disagreeable. It is the voice of a psalm-singing clerk. On the whole, however, this instrument is exquisitely delightful. I
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ought, perhaps, rather to say sublime ; for when the whole strength of the organ is exerted, never did I hear, or could conceive, sounds more godlike. The swelling majesty of each gigantic note seems of more than mortal birth, and the slightest sounds enchant the ear. Solemnity, grandeur, delicacy, and harmony, are the characteristics of this noble instrument. The length of the longest pipe is thirty-two feet, and its diameter sixteen inches. In all, the organ has sixty stops or voices, four separations, two shakes, two couplings, and twelve bellows.—I borrow this information from a printed paper which we received from the organist. During the time the organ was playing, a number of well-dressed people collected in the church, and listened with rapturous attention to the divine sounds of the instrument. Men as well as women in Holland keep on their hats in church, and many paid us the civility of a bow for the pleasure which they received from the organ at our expence.

The custom of bowing in Holland is extremely troublesome. It is not sufficient, as
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in England, that a person slightly moves his hat, but he must take it off his head, and continue uncovered till the man is past him to whom he pays the compliment. The ceremony of bowing is more strictly observed at Leyden and Haerlem, than at Rotterdam or the Hague. In either of the former cities, a stranger of decent appearance can scarcely walk in the streets without being obliged every minute to pull off his hat, to answer some civility of the same kind which he receives ; and these compliments are paid him not only by opulent people, but by mechanics and labourers, who bow with all the gravity and politeness of their superiors.

The revolution has not altered in the least the national dress of the Dutch. Instead of cropped heads, pantaloons, and round hats, which I expected to find, most people have their hair full dressed and powdered, wear cocked hats, and the rest of their clothes in the old fashion. The term citizen is used to all persons of authority, when they are addressed in their official capacities ; but in conversation, or private transactions, every one

one uses the appellation of *mynheer*, without fear or restraint. The old calendar is adhered to in all public ordinances, proclamations, &c. with the invariable addition of — year of Batavian liberty: and no alteration has taken place in the devices or legends of the coins of the United Provinces. A guilder or florin of 1700 is precisely the same as a guilder of 1800. There have been yearly coinages of silver to a considerable amount, since the overthrow of the ancient government.

At a short distance from Haerlem is the house of Mr. Hope, the head of a family long distinguished for its immense riches. On the revolution, this gentleman fled to England, and his property is now in a state of sequestration. We could not obtain a sight of the inside of this magnificent villa. Its architecture is beautiful, and were the building of stone, would be grand; but unfortunately it is of brick covered with stucco, and the dampness of the atmosphere, with want of proper care, has caused much of the plaster to fall off; so that in many places the red
bricks

bricks peep through the white surface, to the great disadvantage of the whole. It is situated at the entrance of an agreeable wood, and is considered as the most elegant modern building in the United Provinces.

Haerlem disputes with Mentz and Strasburg the honour of having invented the noble art of printing, and assigns the merit of that important discovery to Laurence Costar, a citizen of the place, who flourished towards the middle of the fifteenth century. The claim of Strasburg to this honour, has, I believe, been abandoned; and I will not presume to decide between Haerlem and Mentz *. Costar is said to have made the discovery by cutting the initial letters of his name on a piece of bark, and using it as a seal. An inscription in Dutch points out the spot where the house of this eminently

* The advocates who bestow the honour of the invention of printing on Haerlem, say that Faustus was the servant of Costar, and stole his types, with which he fled to Mentz, on Christmas eve, while his master was attending his devotions at church.

useful man stood, and his portrait is laudably displayed in most of the bookfellers' windows in Haerlem.

The heroic defence made by this city against the Spaniards, under Frederic of Toledo, a son worthy of the execrable Duke of Alva, terminated less fortunately than that of Leyden. The garrison, which consisted of four thousand men, indignantly refused the conditions which were offered them by the Spanish general, and by vigorous forties greatly distressed the besieging army. The women of the place, in this conflict for their liberties, forgot the delicacy and softness of their sex, and combated with unwearied resolution and desperate courage, by the side of the men. These patriotic females organised themselves into regular battalions, and performed all the duties of the garrison, with alacrity and precision. Unfortunately the hopes of successful resistance, inspired the citizens of Haerlem with sentiments of unjustifiable animosity and revenge. With a cruelty not to be palliated, they hanged on the ramparts of the town the Spaniards
whom

whom they took prisoners in their forties and, what was more offensive to a Spanish army in a bigotted age, they treated with profane derision and contempt the images and holy objects of the Catholic worship. Worn out by fatigue, pressed by famine, and hopeless of relief, the citizens of Haerleng at length agreed to surrender, on condition that the lives of the garrison and inhabitants of the town should be spared. This was agreed to by the son of the Duke of Alva ; but, with horrid perfidy, he violated the articles of capitulation, and two thousand soldiers and inhabitants of the town were wantonly massacred in cold blood by the savage butchers of the Spanish army.

It is highly honourable to the Dutch that they preserve with religious care the memory of the gallant actions of their ancestors, and speak with becoming pride of their noble achievements and unshaken constancy. More than two centuries have elapsed since the arms of Spain spread terror and desolation through the United Provinces, yet the
murderous

murderous sieges which they carried on, the bloody conflicts in which they were engaged, and the atrocious cruelties which they committed whenever victory declared on their side, are related and dwelt on with all the minuteness and circumstantiality of recent events. The Spaniards are mentioned as men of yesterday, and the slightest memorial is preserved which relates to their treacheries, cruelties, or defeats. Indeed no period of the history of the republic has been so glorious as when the Provinces threw off the yoke of the Spanish monarchy, then the most powerful and wealthy in Europe, and maintained their independence against the numerous armies, under skilful and consummate generals, which Philip II. and his successors poured into Holland. Commerce had not then debauched the simplicity of their manners, and the love of liberty was their ruling passion. The noble influence of this generous passion converted a nation of fishermen and slaves into a race of heroes, worthy of the venerable times of Greece and Rome. Never was the love of country—the

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the noblest sentiment which can inhabit the human breast—carried to a greater extent, or more sacredly adhered to, than by the brave Guefes* who severed the Provinces from the dominion of Spain, maintained their liberties against the gigantic forces of that monarchy, and by their courage, resolution, and wisdom, finally established in triumph the republic.

At Haerlem is an elegant museum of natural history, formed by Doctor Van Marum, to which strangers find an easy access. This cabinet is superior to any in Holland. It is arranged with much science and taste, and

* This appellation, which signifies beggars, is reported to have originated thus. At an early period of the troubles in the Low-countries, five hundred patriots assembled in the court-yard of the palace at Brussels, to present a petition to the Duchess of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. and at that time governante of the Netherlands, against the establishment of the inquisition. The princess, alarmed at the sight of so many men, demanded who they were, and one of the courtiers contemptuously replied, they were guefes, or beggars. The appellation was henceforward bestowed on the patriotic party by their enemies as a term of bitter reproach, and adopted by the friends of liberty as a title of glorious distinction.

all its articles are in an excellent state of preservation. To every case is affixed a description, according to the Linnean system, of the object which it contains; and the different genera of the same species are instructively classed in progressive order, instead of being confusedly mixed together as I have remarked in other collections. The assemblage of insects of the papilio tribe is extremely numerous, and many of them of the first degree of rarity. On the whole, however, this museum is very inferior to the Leverian collection which is exhibited in London.

The institution of Peter Teyler Vander Hulst in this city, though I have no predilection for the subject which it principally patronises*, deserves to be noticed. Peter Teyler was a rich merchant of Haerlem, who, without having displayed in his lifetime any attachment to science, bequeathed at his death the whole of his fortune for the propagation of knowledge and the relief of the poor. A more magnificent donation has

* The discussion of theological metaphysics.

feldom been offered on the altars of learning and charity. The revenues of the Teylerian institution amounted before the revolution to the yearly sum of one hundred thousand florins; but what were the mighty advantages to science which resulted from this ample income? The electrical experiments of Van Marum, under the auspices of this institution, are entitled to the most respectful mention*; but they are the only fruits which have been raised, by which science has been benefited, from the hot-bed of this rich bequest. The desire of accumulating, which is so prevalent in Holland, is said to have reached the curators of this institution; and instead of employing the vast funds which are at their disposal to the advancement of knowledge, they have been oversollicitous to increase the capital stock of the institution. What amount the accumulations of the Teylerian revenues have reached

* The experiments of Van Marum prove that the death of animals coincides instantaneously with the cessation of irritability.

I could not learn with any degree of certainty; and it is now generally thought they have been appropriated by some silent act of government to the relief of the urgent necessities of the state.

At Haerlem there are considerable manufactures for the fabrication of fine linen cloths, dimity, satins, &c. which, though not in so flourishing a state as formerly they were, give employment to a number of workmen, and still carry on a profitable trade with Brabant and Germany. The bleacheries of Haerlem are famous for the delicate whiteness which they give to linen cloths, large quantities of which are brought hither yearly from all parts of the United Provinces and Germany to undergo this operation, and before the war with Great Britain much was sent from Ireland and Scotland. The superior whiteness of the bleacheries of this town is attributed to a peculiar quality in the water of the lake of Haerlem, which cannot be imitated by any chemical process which has yet been discovered.

LETTER XI.

Arrival at Amsterdam.—Politeness of a Dutch lady.—The English Bible.—Servants of hotels in Holland.—Condition of servants in general throughout the United Provinces.—The French theatre.—Profusion of diamonds worn by the ladies.—A sledge coach.—Examination of passports.—General d'Henisfal.—The Doele hotel stadthouse of Amsterdam.—Apartment in which sentence of death is pronounced on criminals.—Basso-reliecos.—Great hall of the stadthouse.—Pictures.—Carillons.—Prison for felons and debtors.—Humane laws of the republic respecting debtors.—Few persons are punished with death in Holland.—Bank of Amsterdam.—External appearance of the stadthouse.—Figure of Atlas.—Hat of liberty.—Custom-house.

Amsterdam, November, 1800.

WE arrived at this great city about four in the afternoon, during a very heavy shower of rain, which would have thoroughly drenched

us,

us, had we not been invited by an elderly woman to take shelter in her house till a carriage was provided for us. Our only recommendations to her were our being strangers, and the inclemency of the afternoon. She insisted on our taking coffee with her; and though she could neither talk English nor French, we contrived to hold a sufficiently intelligible dialogue by signs. We informed her that we came from Haerlem in the treckschuyt, and she was extremely angry with our fellow passengers, that seeing we were strangers, they had not conducted us to some place of shelter. In truth, the rain made them run as soon as they landed from the boat, and we were left with the little dirty boy who carried our portmanteau, to find our way as we could. The Dutch, however, in general, are to be praised for the attention which they pay to strangers who travel with them, frequently offering to conduct them whither they are going, and guarding them against the impositions which the skippers and boatmen would put upon them.

A coach being procured for us, we ordered the driver to take us to the Star in the Ness, an hotel to which we had been recommended. The house, however, was shut up, and we left it to the discretion of the coachman to conduct us to another hotel.—We could not describe to him the kind of accommodations which we wanted, and he took us to an inn which is distinguished by the singular name of the English Bible.

We could not have alighted at a worse.—The house, landlady, and servants, were dirty to the last degree; and but that they spoke English very imperfectly, and the furniture and apartments were Dutch, I could have conceived myself to be in a Wapping tavern. This was extremely disgusting to us, after the neatness and propriety to which we had been accustomed, with only one exception, the village of Overschie, since our release from ship-board.

The inns of Holland, with proper allowance for the unavoidable dirt and confusion which a succession of guests occasions, are highly to be commended for their neatness
and

and cleanliness, interior as well as external : the servants too of the hotels, particularly the females, are neat in their persons ; and there is a modest propriety in their manners, which I have seldom met with in the domestics of an English inn. I prefer them for other good qualities which they possess. Their deportment to strangers is attentive, without any mixture of servility ; they are obliging without obsequiousness, and respectful without cringing. The servants of an inn, from the multiplicity of their masters, and the immediate interest which they have in gratifying the persons whom they serve, generally possess less of the dignity of manhood, than any other menials. But of this fault the Dutch waiters are not to be accused : they discharge all the offices of their situation without being degraded by it : their civility never deviates into meanness, nor does their attention to avoid servility degenerate into rudeness.

The condition of servants in general throughout the United Provinces is much superior to that of the same useful class of people

people in England. This difference, to the honour of Holland, arises from the simple, unostentatious manners of the nation, and its republican constitution, which, though vitiated and diseased in its legislative and executive powers, ought to be revered for its effects on the private and domestic institutions of life. The abolition of the use of liveries has destroyed an invidious mark of distinction between the master and the servant, without abridging the former of any of his proper authority, or furnishing the latter with any excuse for insolence. The treatment of female servants in Holland is remarkably kind and humane; unless for sufficient grounds of removal, they generally continue in a family for a number of years, and are considered rather as humble members of it, than as domestics. The regularity with which the Dutch live, renders the labours of their servants comparatively easy, from the circumstance that as they are acquainted with the whole of the daily work which they have to perform, so they are enabled to execute it in a manner most convenient to

to themselves. In houses where there are more servants than one, once a week, the seventh day is allotted in rotation to each for pleasure and recreation; and they are allowed the same privilege at fair times, which are frequent in Holland, and public festivals.

The evening was too far advanced to remove from the English Bible to search for another lodging, we were obliged therefore to endure with patience its inconveniences. That we might pass, however, as little time as possible in a disagreeable situation, we went to the French comédie, the only place of public entertainment which was open. The performances were “*Les Dangers de l’Absence, ou le Souper de Famille*,” a sentimental comedy in two tedious acts; and “*La Caravane du Caire*,” a pleasant operatical ballet in three acts, with excellent music, by Grétry. The French theatre is small but neat; and the scenery and decorations are tasteful. The audience was rather numerous, compared with the attendance of spectators which we had seen at the Dutch play-houses.

houses. There was not indeed much company in the boxes, but the pit was nearly filled, and the gallery appeared crowded. Each bench of the pit had a rail to the back of it, a convenience which I have before commended in the Dutch theatres. Persons of the greatest respectability and opulence in Holland do not think it unworthy of their dignity or fortunes to sit in the pit of the theatre, and they dress equally well for that part of the house as for the boxes. Most of the ladies in the pit, advanced in life, wore an astonishing quantity of diamonds. A lapidary might speak of their brilliancy and water, their size and value; but I can only say that the profusion of precious stones was immense. A lady who sat near us wore a necklace composed of three rows of large diamonds, bracelets, and head pins equally superb; diamond ear-rings, and buckles; and on her fingers rings without number. I will not hazard any computation of what the ornament of her dress might be worth. Her jewels were set in an old-fashioned substantial style, and had probably
been

been in the possession of her family a century and a half. I particularise the ornaments of this person's dress because we sat near her, but there were other ladies in the pit of the theatre to all appearance equally superbly and expensively habited.

The carriage which took us to and from the theatre was a coach fastened on a sledge, and drawn by a single horse. The driver walks by the side of the coach, with a whip and reins in his hand, and guides the machine whenever it turns an abrupt corner. These vehicles are common in Amsterdam, and to be hired at half the price that is required for a carriage which runs on wheels. The magistrates of Amsterdam are careful to license few wheeled coaches, on account of the insubstantiality of the foundations of the city, which they think would be shaken and injured, were many such carriages permitted to be driven about the streets. The motion of a sledge coach is slow and jolting, if the pavement be not good, which often happens, and few strangers find them an agreeable mode of conveyance. If the drivers are not careful,

careful, they may easily be overturned, but the carriages are placed so near the ground that bad consequences can seldom happen from accidents of that kind. Returning from the theatre our driver carried a flambeau with him ; an useless appendage, for the streets of Amsterdam are well lighted ; but his motive was to make an additional charge. The whole demand, however, was extremely reasonable, if compared with the rates of hackney coaches in London. Including the time we were at the theatre, the sledge was engaged by us about four hours, and the fare amounted only to a florin, or twenty pence English. The driver demanded and received a gratuity, but he was satisfied with, and thankful for, a moderate donation.

We waited on the municipality at the stadthouse in the morning to have our passports examined. The gentlemen to whom this office belonged behaved to us with a politeness so unusual to persons in their situations, that I should be sorry not to mention it. They scarcely perused the description of our persons which the passports contained,

contained, but enquiring how long it was probable we should remain in Amsterdam, they affixed the necessary certificate of inspection to our papers, and in the most obliging terms hoped that our residence in their city would prove agreeable. Judging of the customs of other nations from a country where the fees of office are exorbitant, and the clerks insolent and rapacious, I was surprised at the politeness of the Dutch, and that we had nothing to pay for the inspection of our passports. Those who are acquainted with the municipal government of London will readily account for my surprise.

Our business with the municipality being dispatched; we waited on General d'Henisdal, the French commandant of Amsterdam, to deliver to him the recommendation with which we were favoured by General Chorié. He received us with much civility; and on our representing to him the badness of our accommodations at the English Bible, he carried us to the Doele on the Cingel, one of the best hotels in Amsterdam, where we are at present lodged. It is kept by a widow,
whose

whose good-humoured features, and obliging manners, are extremely agreeable. It is happy for the mistress of an hotel, who has occasion so often to dress her face with smiles; when nature has furnished her with a pleasing countenance; a forced smile from a set of features gloomy and lowering like the approaches of a winter's storm, carries with it to me something inconceivably disgusting.

The stadthouse of Amsterdam is one of the first curiosities of the city, which a stranger is anxious to visit. It is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent buildings in the world, as well for beauty of architecture, elegance of decoration, and the vast space of ground which it covers. The first pile which supports the foundation of this house was driven into the ground January the 20th, 1648, and by the 6th of October in the same year thirteen thousand six hundred and ninety-five, the aggregate number of massy trees on which the building rests, were driven into the morafs. The first stone, with a suitable inscription, was then laid, and seven years afterwards, the different colleges

colleges of magistrates took possession in state of the apartments designed for their several uses. The principal architect was John Van Kampen, who was assisted or controlled by four burgomasters of the city; and the expence of the whole, as estimated by various authors, amounted to two millions sterling.

To describe the various apartments which the stadthouse contains—the chamber of the burgomasters, the treasury, the secretary's office, the hall for petty causes, the great hall of justice, the chamber of domains, of insurance, of orphans, the counsel-room, the offices of the bank, the citizens'-hall, &c. &c.—were a task of too great magnitude for a tourist to undertake, with any reasonable expectation that he could competently execute it. A few apartments, however, may without impropriety be noticed. The hall where criminals are brought to receive sentence is on the basement floor of the stadthouse, and is decorated with basso-relievos analogous to the use to which it is dedicated. In one compartment is represented the story
of

of Junius Brutus putting his sons to death ; in another, Zaleucus, the Locrian king, tearing out an eye to preserve one for his son, who by his father's law was condemned to lose both for the crime of adultery ; and in a third, the judgment of Solomon. The head of Bellona beneath the Roman story is of sculpture that would do honour to a Grecian chissel. I must not omit to mention a figure of silence, represented as a woman seated on the ground, with a finger on her mouth, and two children weeping over a death's head. This chamber contains also allegorical figures of punishment, and axes, fasces, and chains, the instruments of tyranny or justice. When sentence of death is to be pronounced on a criminal, he is brought guarded into this hall, the magistrates of the city appear in a gallery above, dressed in their robes of ceremony, and nothing is neglected which can contribute to the solemnity of the awful scene. I am satisfied of the expediency of the punishment of death, if I may use the term, of its unlawfulness ; when, however, nothing but the death of a criminal will

will appease the tribunal which arraigns him, every circumstance of solemnity should be given to this dreadful act of legislative vengeance. If the intention of punishments be, what lawyers maintain it is*, not to inflict pain on the criminal, but to provide for the public security by shewing the consequences of offending, no auxiliary ought to be wanting to the spectacle which can inspire the spectators with awe. The manner of passing sentence of death in Holland is dignified, solemn, and impressive: it must on reflection appear strikingly so to a person who has seen condemnations at the Old Bailey, where sometimes a dozen wretches are crowded into a box to be told, in a style little reverent or awful, that the law sentences them to be hanged.

* Ut poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat.

CICERO.

Tully, with his generous love of liberty, was too often an advocate. Lawyers constantly declare that punishments are not inflicted by way of expiation or atonement for a crime committed, but as a precaution against future offences.—This has been the language of English lawyers from the days of Bracton to the present hour.

The great hall of the stadthouse is used as a promenade by the persons whom business draws to the public offices. The brass gates by which it is entered are of wonderful beauty and solidity of execution. At one end of the hall is elevated a figure of Atlas, bearing on his shoulders the globe, and attended by Wisdom and Vigilance. On the roof, Amsterdam is represented as a woman richly habited, and surrounded by the deities of the heathen mythology. Neptune presents her with a crown, Mercury offers her a sceptre, and Cybele her keys. On the floor of this hall the celestial and terrestrial globes are delineated with brass and various coloured marbles; but the feet of the multitudes who daily walk here, have nearly effaced the signs of the heavens and the divisions of the earth.

In the burgomaster's chamber is a beautiful picture by Ferdinand Bol, representing Fabricius in the camp of Pyrrhus, and another of Curius at his frugal repast. The council-chamber is adorned with a large picture of Moses and the seventy Elders of Israel,

Israel, by Brankhorst; and Solomon, by Flink, an artist whom I have formerly praised, devoutly asking of Heaven the inestimable gift of wisdom. The marble chimney-pieces of this apartment are ornamented with some exquisitely sculptured historical basso-relievos; and over the doors are some pleasing imitations of basso-relievos, by J. de Wit, the artist who decorated with similar productions the great eating-room at the House in the Wood.

An apartment very unworthy of their transcendent excellence, contains a large picture, by B. Vanderhelst, of the feast given by the burgomasters of Amsterdam to the ambassadors of Spain, on account of the peace of Munster; a pacification which sheathed the sword that had for eighty years desolated the Netherlands: and a similar subject by Vandyke; for the head of an old man, in which piece, the sum of seven thousand florins was offered. I endeavoured to discover some extraordinary merit in the head, to justify the price which was offered for it to be cut out, but without suc-

cess. I saw it twice, and failed both times. A vast repository of beauties, like the stadthouse of Amsterdam, where there is much to admire in the nobleness of the building, and the elegance of the decorations, furcharges the mind with objects, and the judgment is proportionally weakened as it is extensively exercised. To the circumstance, then, that my judgment was enfeebled by the multiplicity of objects which had engaged it, is probably to be attributed my not being able to discern in Vandyke's grey-headed old man the singular excellence for which it is praised by connoisseurs. The same apartment contains pictures by Rubens, Otho Venius, and Jordaans: but the two which I have noticed are the best.

The tower, or steeple, of the stadthouse is visited by strangers, on account of the carillons, or musical chimes, which it contains. These play every quarter of an hour some different airs; and three times a-week at noon a carillonneur attends to play on the bells, for the amusement of the citizens of Amsterdam. Throughout Holland, the most
difficult

difficult tunes are executed on the bells with a precision that is astonishing. The chief fault of this species of music is, that the sound of one note, for the want of stops, is confounded with the sound of another; and when the chimes are out of order, which often happens, from the complexity of the tunes which they play, an unpleasant discord is produced. The labour of a carillonneur is so severe, that after he has performed an hour, he is generally obliged to go to bed; and even in winter, he plays, or rather works, in his shirt.

On the ground-floor of the stadthouse is the prison of the city for capital offenders, and apartments of detention for debtors. The latter did not amount to thirty; and the number of felons in this place of confinement, or rather I ought to say of persons suspected of felony, for none of them had been tried, was five. I saw but one of the felons' cells, which I believe was a fair specimen of the rest, in which two persons were confined. It was airy, clean, and spacious, and the persons who inhabited it seemed

P 3

healthy.

healthy. They were in irons, but the weight of their fetters was not to be compared with some which I have seen in England. One of the prisoners was a youth about twenty, with an intelligent penetrating countenance: I have seen most of the rules of Lavater reversed, but, could I have taken him from his dungeon, I would with tranquillity and confidence have committed to his guardianship the care of my property or the security of my person.

I could not obtain admission into the chamber which contains the instruments of torture. The hinges of the door were not rusty; and what time has elapsed since these engines of human or devilish ingenuity were used (for their use I understand is still permitted), I could not learn. To my enquiries, if any state prisoners had been tortured since the revolution, I received the most peremptory negative; a negative which seemed to resent my question as an insult to the humanity of the Dutch nation; and I was assured on the contrary, that persons suspected of crimes against the state, had
been

been treated, at the most critical and alarming periods, with the utmost tenderness and lenity. How honourable is this account to the government of Holland, when compared with the treatment of the state prisoners in England ! The government of no country can be supposed to entertain a personal animosity against thieves and felons, their treatment, therefore, almost invariably proceeds from circumstances for which the executive power cannot be praised or censured ; but if the executive power, where itself is intimately concerned, proceeds against individuals suspected of state crimes with inordinate severity, rigour, and harshness, incarcerating them in noxious cells, secluding them from all intercourse with their friends, and treating their well-founded remonstrances with insolence (the insolence of office and authority acting illegally), it may readily and with certainty be concluded, that such measures are pursued, not to answer the ends of public justice, but to gratify personal resentments, or party animosities.

The debtors' apartments were less neat and orderly than the felons, and I felt a disagreeable smell of gin and tobacco. The men were dirty in their persons, and extremely clamorous for charity. What their allowance was from their creditors I could not precisely learn, it varying according to circumstances ; but I understood it was an allowance in money, and as the rates were fixed when all the articles of life were much cheaper than they at present are, the debtors find it a very inadequate support.

The small number of prisoners for debt in Amsterdam is the happy result of the excellent laws of Holland respecting creditors and debtors. No person can be arrested for debt who has not been regularly summoned three times, with the interval of fourteen days between each summons ; and six weeks further must elapse from the last official notification and demand of the debt, before the creditor is permitted to arrest, or seize the effects of, the insolvent person. By this indulgent mode of procedure, debtors are generally enabled either fully to settle their
affairs,

affairs, or liberally to compromise with their creditors, so that few are sent to prison on account of the embarrassment of their circumstances.

A man may not be arrested in his own house in Holland, or even standing at the door of it, though all the previous citations should have been made; and should his wife be lying-in, he is humanely privileged, during the period of her illness, to go abroad without any molestation from his creditors or bailiffs.

There are some exceptions to these benevolent rules, regarding bills of exchange; debts due to the government, as taxes, duties, or fines; and house-rent, when the arrears exceed four quarters. It appears, however, from the small number of debtors confined in Amsterdam, that in few cases are the laws against insolvent persons very rigorously applied. An inferior court, composed of intelligent and upright citizens, has a power to determine small claims; and by means of this tribunal much expensive litigation is prevented. Its decisions are absolute,
and

and they are merciful and equitable. It would be found, I believe, on examination, that nearly one third of the amount of the sums for which persons are confined in the various prisons of England, has arisen from the dreadful expence of law proceedings;—an evil of destructive magnitude, which the wise policy of the Dutch has carefully guarded against.

The number of criminals in the prison of the stadthouse of Amsterdam, forms a pleasing panegyric on the morals of the inhabitants of that great city, or the vigilance of the police. Since the year ninety-six, a period of the greatest national calamity, which has been most severely felt by the lower orders of society, only three criminals have suffered by the hand of the executioner. The yearly average of executions for London and Middlesex exceeds forty *: a lamentable

* From December 1783, to December 1788 (vide Howard's Works, vol. 2.), the number of executions in London and Middlesex amounted to 324, which gives

mentable proof of the sanguinary spirit of the English laws, or the dissolute manners of the nation. In some of the United Provinces, the barbarous spectacle of a public execution has not occurred within a century; and the average of malefactors who in that period have suffered at Amsterdam, is less than one victim a year devoted to appease the indignation of offended laws. How amiable and enlightened is this policy, compared with the profuse waste of human life by the English courts of justice! At different times, the British legislature has deliberately pronounced one hundred and sixty crimes

gives an average of about sixty-five persons yearly suffering by the hand of the executioner. The average of the twelve preceding years gives thirty-nine convicts annually hanged. If the amount be taken for seventeen years, from 1771 to 1788, the average is rather more than forty-seven executions a year. Since that period the number of persons annually hanged may safely be averaged at forty. The war, by furnishing a number of turbulent, ill-disposed, or necessitous persons, with employment in the army or navy, has abridged the yearly labours of the public executioner.

to be worthy of the punishment of death *. It may safely be affirmed, that so sanguinary a code does not disgrace the institutions of any other nation or period.

On the ground-floor of the stadthouse also are the strong apartments which formerly contained the immense treasures of the bank of Amsterdam, and the offices for conducting the concerns of that opulent establishment. I shall hereafter more particularly notice the bank of Amsterdam, and its *condition to fulfil* its engagement with its creditors, when the French became masters of Holland, and discovered to the world the pecuniary resources of this celebrated commercial institution. A small number of clerks are still

* Such was the estimate of Blackstone, a man by no means disposed to represent the laws of England in an unfavourable light, in 1769. Since that period, scarcely a session of parliament has been held, in which the punishment of death has not been enacted against offences, which, before, a slighter punishment was thought sufficient to coerce. The number has therefore been much increased, and it is greatly to be feared that not less than two hundred crimes are enrolled on this bloody catalogue.

employed in the offices of the bank, to receive the voluminous claims of its creditors. On the restoration of peace, its advantages to the mercantile world will probably cause it, with proper modifications, to be revived, and under honest and upright direction, it may again become an useful and respectable institution.

The external appearance of the stadthouse is noble and grand; and certainly it is in every respect worthy of the opulent city, for the accommodation of which it was erected. The entrance, by seven small gates, has been censured as mean for so magnificent a building, and undoubtedly an elegant portal would have been more congenial to the architecture of the whole. But here security was preferred to beauty. The burgomasters who superintended the building of the stadthouse, considering that the treasures of the bank, the archives of the city, and the documents of the public offices, would be lodged in it; and knowing the turbulence and instability of the populace

lace of Amsterdam ; thought that seven small gates could be more easily defended than a large one, if, in case of a popular sedition, the mob attacked the stadthouse with a view to plunder its treasures, or by the destruction of the records which it contained, to involve the country in ruin and confusion.

The top of the stadthouse is ornamented with several noble statues, one of which, a colossal figure of Atlas, with a copper globe of immense size on his shoulders, is of remarkably fine execution. The attitude of the figure is striking, and the whole conception of the piece grand. It may not be improper in this place to mention, that the finest pieces of sculpture which ornament the stadthouse of Amsterdam, are from the chissel of Artus Quellinus, a statuary of Antwerp, a city more eminent for the celebrated artists which it has produced, than for the riches and commerce which it formerly enjoyed.

In the square before the stadthouse, is elevated on a pole, or rather mast, almost an
hundred

hundred feet high, the hat of Batavian liberty. The mast is painted with the national colours, red, white, and blue; and towards the top it is ornamented with artificial foliage of the palm-tree. The base of the pole assumes somewhat the form of a column, and figures, painted on boards, of Liberty, Justice, Independence, &c. are attached to it. As in other places of Holland, the tree of liberty was found not to flourish here, and therefore it was thought necessary to rear a mast, conspicuously to display the emblem of Dutch freedom.

The space before the stadthouse, or the dam as it is called, is disgraced with a mean erection, the custom-house of the city. It is a small, miserable building, and furnishes a stranger, who has seen the spacious and magnificent edifices for the collection of revenue in London, with very humble ideas of the commerce of Amsterdam. There was not a throng of persons about it, though at a time of the day when business is usually transacted: but I saw a considerable quantity of merchandise, which was brought to be
examined,

examined, and weighed. I should mention that this is the principal, but there are two more custom-houses in Amsterdam, at convenient distances, for the facility of trade.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

*Streets of Amsterdam.—Canals.—Shopkeepers.—
 Begging prohibited in Amsterdam.—A little
 pedlar boy.—The Exchange.—A literary society,
 the Felix Meritis.—Extent of Amsterdam.—
 Number of houses.—Population.—Police.—
 Watchmen.—Fire centinels.—City militia.—
 The Rasp-house of Amsterdam.—Labour of
 the criminals confined in it.—Expedient for-
 merly used to oblige refractory criminals to
 work.—General appearance of the prisoners.—
 Terms of confinement.—Account of a man
 sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.—Exemp-
 tion from labour to be purchased.—Figure over
 the gate of the Rasp-house.—The Spin-house or
 Bridewell for women.—Licensed brothels of
 Amsterdam.*

Amsterdam, 1800.

THE streets of Amsterdam are not to be compared for neatness or cleanliness with those of Leyden or Haerlem. With the exception

exception of a few streets in the best quarter of the town; they are in general extremely dirty, and the canals abound with putrid offals of every description. During the heats of summer, the noxious effluvia which proceed from the stagnate waters of the canals, corrupted with the most offensive animal and vegetable substances, must be highly pernicious to the health, and destructive of the comforts, of the inhabitants of this city. To purify the canals, there are erected at the extremities of the town, mills to pump out the foul water, and cause the stagnate pools to circulate. Every day the gates and sluices are opened, and a number of barges are employed to collect the dirt that floats on the surface of the canals, or raise the mud from the bottom. These boats, when they are full, transport their cargoes to Brabant, and the price which is given there for the manure defrays the expence of the voyage.

Notwithstanding all the care that is taken to cleanse the canals of Amsterdam, they are most disgustingly impure. In most of them are to be seen the offals of slaughter-houses,
putrified

putrified fish, and the refuse of the vegetable markets. Dead dogs and cats float about without number, and in one canal I saw a horse in a horrid state of corruption. The water of the canals is generally a yard below the pavement of the street, and about eight or nine feet deep, with perhaps a yard of soft mud at the bottom, so that when an animal or a man tumbles in, unless assistance is at hand, his destiny is singularly fortunate if he escapes drowning. The brink of very few of the canals is guarded with rails or a chain, but there are a sufficient number of lamps, at convenient distances, to show the proximity of the canals in the darkest nights; and as strangers are cautious how they walk, from a proper sense of danger, and the inhabitants of the town are well acquainted with the situation of the canals, few accidents occur.

The streets of Amsterdam, and indeed of all Holland, have no path for the exclusive accommodation of foot passengers, as in England. Flag-stones, the best kind of pavement for this purpose, are not to be expected

pected in a country where there are no quarries (though if I recollect right London is principally paved with stones from Scotland), but some attention should surely be paid to the security and comforts of the multitude. The streets of Amsterdam are paved with bricks; and in the trading part of the town are as dirty as Wapping or Thames-street.

Contrary to the practice of shopkeepers in England, the traders of Amsterdam make no ostentatious display of their commodities in the windows of their shops, and indeed they are generally unfit for exhibitions of that nature. A few of the coarsest articles which they sell, and least likely to be damaged by exposure are placed with little regularity or attention in their windows, and barely serve to announce the nature of their dealings. We found in the shops which we had occasion to visit, the men polite and intelligent; if they could not speak English or French, which frequently happened, we rarely had much difficulty in making them understand what we wanted, and they never in the least imposed

imposed upon us because we were foreigners, or unacquainted with the value of the articles which we purchased. I cannot, however, commend the female shopkeepers with whom we had dealings, either for civility, intelligence, or honesty: when the difficulty of making known our wants to them was subdued, which often was a violent exercise of patience and ingenuity, we were repulsed by the exorbitance of their charges. A female shopkeeper asked me for a small bust of Bonaparte, which on the recommendation of General d'Henisdale as a faithful likeness I was desirous to purchase, sixteen florins: being persuaded that her demand was unreasonable, I went elsewhere, and purchased at a shop, not under female management, a similar cast at a reduction of price little short of ten florins.—, unless she was accompanied by some Dutch lady, had equal reason to complain of the *merchande des modes*. These bad qualities in Dutch women who keep shops, which I record with great reluctance, probably proceed from some defects in their educations, and the

subordinate rank, corrupting their minds, and weakening their feelings of moral equity, to which women are condemned in Holland, and I may add, in seven eighths of the world.

Begging is so rigorously prohibited in the streets of Amsterdam, that, strictly speaking, not a mendicant is to be seen. A number of poor wretches, however, are to be found in the most frequented streets, who carry with them cheap toys for sale, and they loudly entreat passengers for charity sake and christian compassion to purchase some of their little articles. A little pedlar boy of this description, not seven years of age, asked me in three different languages (French, English, and Dutch) to become a purchaser of his wares; and if the physiognomy of the youthful linguist was to be relied on as a proof of his extraction, a competent acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue might be added to his acquisitions in modern dialects. Knowledge so premature was not likely to be extensive. His acquirements in English and French were barely sufficient to recommend his commodities, and piteously

teously to state his claims on benevolence. His instructions in the art of soliciting charity had, however, been ample, and he had digested his lessons with a sagacity and acuteness vastly superior to his years. It may readily be believed, I did not turn a deaf ear to the entreaties of a child, clad in the habiliments of want and misery, thus singularly endowed; and from a grateful spirit, or perhaps to show himself master of his profession (which supposition I would rather adopt), prayers for my welfare were offered to Heaven through the distinct and articulate medium of three separate languages.

The association of ideas when I was conversing with this little urchin, brought to my mind the story of Prince Maurice of Orange, and the parrot that conversed with him in the Brazils, as it is told by Sir William Temple, and adopted, with a credulity worthy of the gossiping bishop of Sarum, Dr. Burnet, by Locke in his Essay concerning Human Understanding.

At the Hague, and Rotterdam, where

they are permitted, I have met with beggars who could ask charity in the French and English tongues, as well as their native language ; but they were persons advanced in life, and consequently my wonder was diminished. I must here remark, that throughout the towns of Holland which I have seen, none of those squalid and disgusting objects obtrude themselves on the compassion of the public, which are to be met with, and offend the eye, in the streets and on the highways of England. In the great cities of Holland there are munificent foundations for the reception of all kinds of lazars, where their treatment is tender, and their maintenance comfortable.

Notwithstanding the decayed state of the commerce of Amsterdam, at the hours of business the exchange is filled with merchants and traders. It is a smaller building than the Royal Exchange of London, and less neat and commodious. Like the Exchange of Rotterdam, it serves also as a rendezvous for the militia of the city, who assemble once a week to be exercised in the use

use of arms. It can only be the force of habit, now that their trade is nearly extinct, which leads the merchants of Amsterdam to assemble as usual on their exchange. The hours of business are from twelve to two, and the exchange then exhibits a singular assemblage of men of various nations dressed in the peculiar habits of their countries, and to appearance all ardently engaged in one common pursuit—the accumulation of money.

I hasten with pleasure from a scene where the energies of the human mind are disgracefully employed, to mention an institution honourable to the citizens of Amsterdam, and advantageous to science.

In 1777 a society, composed of forty opulent and enlightened individuals, was formed at Amsterdam for the laudable purpose of promoting knowledge and the elegant arts. In the prosecution of their designs, the society experienced at first much opposition from the stadtholderian party, the orthodox clergy of Holland, and the frugal merchants of the old school, who regarded

as

as dangerous innovations all pursuits which were not immediately and distinctly connected with trade. Notwithstanding the disadvantages against which the society had to struggle, from this powerful combination, animated by political rancour, religious fears, and inveterate prejudices, its condition soon became more flourishing than the most sanguine hopes of its projectors had led them to expect. In a short time the funds of the institution amounted to a million florins, and a noble edifice was built for its use in one of the principal streets of Amsterdam. This building was opened for public instruction, with a suitable discourse by Professor Van Swinden, the first of November, 1788.

The title which this society has adopted is *Felix Meritis*, implying perhaps the happiness which results to the human species from the successful cultivation of science; and the number of its members is increased from forty to upwards of twelve hundred. The researches of this society are comprehended under five general heads. Physics, which embrace natural history, medicine, and

and chemistry; commerce, which includes whatever relates to navigation, agriculture, or manufactures; the imitative arts, painting and sculpture; music; and lastly, literature.

Each of these classes is furnished with an apartment for its exclusive use, and proper instruments for experiments, or to facilitate the communication of knowledge. The chamber of physics contains a small museum of natural history, and some anatomical preparations. Their arrangement is neat and scientific. In the hall of commerce are various models of useful inventions. The music room is admired for the happy disposition of its orchestra, but in what its peculiar merit consists I could not perfectly learn, nor had I an opportunity of judging, as we were unfortunately prevented by an engagement from attending the concert, which is weekly held at this room. In the apartment sacred to literature is a good collection of books: the lecturer's pulpit of mahogany is ornamented with carvings emblematical of learning, of the most beautiful execution.

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The hall of painting afforded us no favourable ideas of the present state of that art in Holland. It contained only two pictures, one of which was the front elevation of the building, the other a group of students (portraits) attending to the lecture of a professor. There were, however, a tolerable assemblage of casts from the antique, for the instruction of young painters, and I was told that several pupils of respectable promise attended almost daily to profit by them.

From the top of the building we had a good prospect of the city of Amsterdam. The day was remarkably fine, which is rather unusual at Amsterdam in the month of November, and as the town is built on a perfect level, we enjoyed from our elevation a complete view of it. To all appearance, the capital of Holland does not cover one third of the space of ground which is occupied by the buildings of London, Westminster, and Southwark*. Many of the streets, however,

* I mean only the connected buildings of London, Westminster, and Southwark, and do not take into my estimate

however, through which canals do not run, are narrow, and there are no extensive squares, so that the number of houses in Amsterdam, for the space of ground on which it stands, is great. The appearance of the stadthouse from the top of the Felix Meritis (for the name of the society is given to the house where it holds its sittings, and inscribed in large letters of gold on the front) is noble; but the churches and other public buildings of the city are not much to be commended either for elegance or grandeur.

According to an accurate estimate made in 1783, the number of houses in Amsterdam amounted to thirty thousand seven hundred and fifty, and it was then supposed to receive a yearly increase of fifty dwellings. The calamitous circumstances of the times, since that period, have not prevented the erection of new buildings to a greater amount an-

estimate the extensive villages, which within a few years, to the depopulation of the country, have been created in the vicinity of the British metropolis.

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nually than that which I have stated, and therefore it is probable that the number of habitations in Amsterdam exceeds rather than otherwise thirty-two thousand houses. This, at an average of seven and a half persons to each house, which has been used by eminent calculators to estimate the population of London, and may with confidence be applied to Amsterdam, where the houses in general are spacious and lofty, and accommodate three or four families, makes the number of inhabitants in the Dutch metropolis to amount to two hundred and forty thousand persons. The strangers who resort to Amsterdam are not included in this calculation, but they cannot with probability be estimated at less than ten thousand; so that it may safely be concluded, two hundred and fifty thousand souls inhabit this great city.

With a population so large, composed of various nations and languages, where the extremes of opulence and misery are to be found, it is to bestow the highest praise on the discipline, regularity, and good order of
Amsterdam,

Amsterdam, on the excellence of its municipal institutions, and the humanity of the laws by which it is governed, simply to repeat, what I before mentioned, that not more than one criminal a year, in this great city, suffers by the hand of the public executioner, and the number of persons confined in prison for insolvency rarely exceeds thirty*.

The police of Amsterdam remains almost the same as it was before the revolution,

* Colquhoun (in his *Treatise on the Police of the British Metropolis*, edit. 4th. p. 393) estimates the number of persons who are annually arrested in Middlesex alone at between six and seven thousand. He does not give us the number of debtors confined in London, but on an average I believe they exceed eight hundred. For the honour of the British metropolis, I hope, and am most firmly persuaded, that many of the statements of this writer are unfounded or exaggerated. In a case where easy and correct information might be obtained (as the annual number of arrests in Middlesex) I should however suppose his authority was to be relied upon; but where his calculations are built upon conjecture, he swells his catalogues of the vicious or unfortunate to a merciless extent.

except

except that the names of the magistrates are changed for modern republican appellations ; and certainly to have attempted any alterations of magnitude in a system which so effectually provided for the security of the public, by protecting the peaceful, and coercing the criminal, would have been dangerously presumptuous. The watchmen of the night are not, as in London, decrepid infirm old men, but stout vigorous fellows, who constantly walk two together, the more readily to apprehend offenders, or to report any negligence in each other's conduct, or breach of trust. These men are armed with a sword, and a stick like a constable's staff with a hook at the end of it. They are, however, severely prohibited, unless in cases of obstinate and dangerous resistance, to use their swords, and I conjecture it seldom happens that their staves are not found sufficient weapons of terror and offence. They also carry with them a wooden clapper, with which they make a fearful noise during the whole of the night, to shew that they are attentive to their duty ; and if any disturbance happens

happens which makes it necessary to give an alarm, this instrument is used to call assistance.

To prevent the mischiefs of fire, and for other useful purposes, sentinels are nightly placed on the steeples and principal towers of the city, who sound the half hours with a trumpet, and if a house is discovered to be on fire, give an alarm, which is soon spread over the city, by hanging out a large lantern from the side where the conflagration is perceived. Fires seldom do much damage in Amsterdam, from the abundant supply of water which is every-where to be obtained, and the celerity with which an alarm is given and assistance received. In addition to the watchmen and fire sentinels, four companies of the city militia mount guard nightly in Amsterdam. The city militia is divided into five battalions of twelve companies each, so that the rotation of duty comes in fifteen days. Before the revolution, any person who chose to provide a substitute, which could be done at a reasonable price, was exempt from serving in this corps ;

but since the overthrow of aristocracy, the wealthiest individuals, as well as the poorest, have been obliged to contribute their services to the general security. This regulation has not affected so many as might be supposed; for, before it was in force, avarice, which reigns in Amsterdam in its most disgusting forms, induced many rather to serve personally in the militia, than be at the expence of furnishing a substitute; and some wealthy and respectable individuals of patriotic feelings, from public spirit and a right sense of their duty, enrolled themselves in this useful body.

These different guards abundantly provide for the nightly security of Amsterdam, and are the means of preventing many depredations and atrocities.

The Rasp-house and Spin-house, places of confinement for the reformation and correction of male and female offenders, are open to every one's inspection, on the payment of an inconsiderable fee for admission *,

* Two stivers, or about two pence.

which goes to the emolument of the keeper of the prison. In the Rasp-house, the employment of the prisoners is to saw or rasp log-wood and other woods for the dyers; and the quantity of labour daily required of them amounts to fifty pounds of raspings, which, if the men are strong and diligent, they complete early in the afternoon. The Rasp-house is a quadrangular building, three stories high, with a court-yard in the middle, which I found extremely dirty, and much incommoded with piles of wood. It contains only men prisoners, and the number of persons in confinement did not exceed seventy. The most atrocious criminals are confined on the ground-floor, two in a cell, with an open window guarded with iron bars, where they sleep and work; and notwithstanding the labour they had to perform, they were in general heavily fettered. All the men worked without their shirts, and I observed that some of their backs were marked with stripes, which had been inflicted with no sparing hand. When I say that their labours are concluded early in the afternoon, I do

not mean thence to insinuate that their work is light : the contrary is the case. But the prisoners work hard in the early part of the day, in order to procure themselves in the afternoon an intermission from toil. Formerly, those who would not work were confined in an apartment into which water was caused to flow in such quantities, that incessant pumping was necessary to preserve the persons so shut up from drowning ; and they thereby became reconciled to the less perilous and disagreeable labour of rasping wood. But this barbarous mode of obliging criminals to work has been discontinued, since an unhappy wretch, driven to desperation by his situation, permitted the water to overflow him, and was drowned: Corporal punishment, solitary confinement, and abridgement of food, are the methods which are now used to subdue the refractory ; and I fear they are exercised with a rigour which never fails speedily to produce the intended effect.

The prisoners in general appeared emaciated through confinement, unwholesome
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air, scanty diet, harsh treatment, and severe labour. Their cells were extremely dirty, and their bedding, seamen's hammocks, in a miserable condition.

The length of their confinement varies according to the complexion of their crimes, from one month to five years; or in cases of peculiar atrocity, and hardened offenders, the period of imprisonment is extended to seven, fourteen, or more years; and sometimes, though it rarely happens, a criminal is sentenced to confinement here for life.

Of this last description of prisoners, the Rasp-house contained only one. The moral turpitude of this man's crime was great; but, reasoning from human principles and weakness, I am inclined to suspect the rigour of his punishment exceeded the measure of his offence. He was once a merchant of character and reputation, and guardian of the funds for the maintenance and relief of orphans in the city of Amsterdam. In this office he betrayed his trust, and embezzled the sum of sixty thousand florins. His offence was discovered; a prosecution

was instituted against him, and the fact being clearly proved, he was for this breach of confidence, to the general satisfaction of the public, condemned to perpetual imprisonment. In England his crime would have amounted to no more than a felony, within the benefit of clergy, punishable with transportation or imprisonment for a definite term of years. The violation of a trust which should have been held peculiarly sacred, was certainly a moral aggravation of his guilt; but it should have been considered, that in proportion as confidence was reposed in him, so were his temptations to abuse that confidence increased; and that circumstance, which, on a desultory view of the subject, seems to magnify the crime, will on cool reflection be found most essentially to diminish it. The countenance of this plunderer of the sustenance of orphans was that of a very ordinary villain. He was at large in the court-yard, without irons, and did not seem much depressed by his situation, though his fellow-prisoners treated him as a criminal whose guilt so flagrantly surpassed theirs, that

that they pointed him out to me, through the medium of the *valet de place*, who acted the part of an interpreter, as a wretch deserving the strongest execration.

Many of the prisoners in the Rasp-house were not at work; and I learnt that this exemption from labour was to be purchased. On the whole, I was greatly disappointed in this prison. The Rasp-house of Amsterdam had been mentioned to me, by several persons in Holland, as an almost perfect model for a house of correction; and I had read in various books, relative to the United Provinces, a favourable account of it. But in every particular my expectations were deceived. The place was dirty, and its discipline cruel. Those indeed who could afford to bribe the humanity of the keeper were treated with tenderness, but the indigent prisoner, a wretch probably whom extreme want and pinching famine had driven to the commission of crimes, was wasted with severe toil, and jaundiced with continual severity.

Over the gate which leads to the Rasp-house, is an ill-executed wooden figure of Chastisement, brandishing a whip in her hand, with two offenders chained at her feet, and various instruments of punishment and torture within her reach. The inscription in Latin beneath expresses the necessity and virtue of coercing and punishing the criminal *.

The Spin-house, or Bridewell, for the correction of female offenders, is an institution similar to the Rasp-house, and contains an equal number of prisoners, or I believe generally rather more. The employments of the women vary according to their abilities, or the pleasure of the magistrates. Disagreeable tasks, as picking oakham, &c. are assigned to the most profligate and hardened offenders, while those who have been committed for slighter causes are employed on needle-work. The superintendence of the Spin-house is properly entrusted to a matron,

* *Virtutis est domare quæ cuncti pavent.*

with female assistants ; and, on the whole, it appears to be under good regulations. The prisoners are chiefly composed of women who live by prostitution ; and they are clean and neat in their persons ; those who have not decent clothes of their own, wearing a kind of prison uniform. A woman may be confined for life in the Spin-house, but it is not tenanted at present by any one for so dreadful a period. Few are sentenced for more than a twelvemonth's imprisonment ; and on representations to the magistrates of their good behaviour, they are frequently liberated before the expiration of that term. A small fee is paid at this place for admission, as at the Rasp-house ; but I believe it is appropriated here to the benefit of the prisoners. The female convicts are healthier and more cheerful in their looks than the male, and their treatment and accommodations are altogether better.

From the prisons of Amsterdam the transition is easy to the licensed brothels of the city, the nurseries and hot-beds which
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bring vice to maturity. Prostitutes are not permitted to walk in the streets of Amsterdam, for the purposes of their wretched trade, but there are in various parts of the city music rooms, as they are called, under the sanction of the magistrates, who draw an annual revenue from them, which are nightly open for the reception of the dissolute of both sexes. At these places of licentious resort, singular as it may be deemed, the sedate and the innocent mingle with the wanton and the depraved. A reputable tradesman takes his family to one of these places of amusement, as readily as a person of the same class in London would do to the theatres or any other public entertainment. The early part of the evening is spent in smoking, drinking, or dancing to the sound of three or four miserable fiddles, and towards midnight the carousals begin, when the most flagrant indecencies are permitted and encouraged. I cannot comment on such institutions. It should, however, be stated, that the number
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of prostitutes in Amsterdam is small when compared with the population of the place, and the estimate of females who live by prostitution in most of the great cities of Europe.

LETTER XIII.

Places of religious worship in Amsterdam.—The new and old churches.—The Portuguese synagogue.—Number of Jews in Amsterdam.—State of religion.—Toleration.—Quakers.—Charitable institutions in Amsterdam.—Vaccine inoculation.—Dutch theatre.—Account of the principal female performer.—State of the Dutch stage.—Old-fashioned female dress.—Women of Holland.—Inebriety imputed to the stadtholder.—To his majesty.—A caricature print.—Ideas entertained in Holland respecting the person who attempted to assassinate the king.—Dress of children.—Customs observed with regard to lying-in women.

Amsterdam, November, 1800.
THE temples of religious worship in Amsterdam are numerous, and belong to all sects and persuasions. The new church of the reformed religion, near the stadthouse, is
 visited

visited by strangers, as being the mausoleum where Dutchmen distinguished for their valour or endowments repose. In it are monuments erected by national gratitude to the memory of Admiral de Ruyter, of whom it is inscribed with truth, “*intaminatis fulget honoribus* ;” to the memory of Van Galen, an admiral who fell in a combat against the English; and among other erections to record the services of naval officers, is a monument in honour of Captain Bentinck, who died in consequence of the wounds which he received in the engagement off the Dogger Bank. Vondel, a Dutch poet who flourished in the seventeenth century, is interred here, and a handsome monument proclaims the estimation in which he is held by his countrymen. He was a voluminous writer, and few kinds of poetry escaped his pen. He lived to the great age of ninety-one years, and experienced during his life-time a poet’s fate—indigence and neglect.

In the old church is an organ little inferior in size to the famous instrument of Haerlem, and almost equal to it for the power and
harmony

harmony of its tones. The pulpit is admired for its carving, and the windows for their stained glass representing various historical and religious stories. One of them, perhaps the best, and certainly the most interesting, describes Philip IV. of Spain, in the habiliments of his regal dignity, presenting to the deputies of Holland the treaty by which he acknowledges the independence of the United Provinces. This church also contains monuments erected by the city of Amsterdam, or the states-general, in honour of various naval and military commanders, whose services have thus called forth the gratitude of the republic.

Such is the wise and liberal toleration allowed by the government of Holland, that scarcely a religious community is to be named, which has not some place of public assembly or worship in Amsterdam. The Portuguese synagogue is perhaps the noblest temple in which the Jewish worship has been celebrated, since the dispersion of that fanatic people. It is a lofty, spacious building, fitted for the purposes of religion, according to

to the ordinances of the Mosaic law, and containing also apartments for the use of the rabbins, who daily attend to expound the Hebrew law and the Thalmud. The Jews of Germany and Holland, whose creed varies from that of their Portuguese brethren, have also a noble synagogue, and in different quarters of the city there are other temples where the superstitions of the Hebrew worship are celebrated. The number of Jews in Amsterdam is supposed to amount to eighty thousand souls : I know not on what calculation this estimate is founded, but I am inclined to believe, it rather exceeds, than falls short of, reality.

Beside their commodious temples of worship, the Jews of Amsterdam have a theatre, where dramatic pieces are performed in the Hebrew language. - This place of entertainment unfortunately was not open, or I should have visited it with much curiosity ; nor could I obtain any information respecting either the nature of the pieces which are acted in it, or the performers. The external appearance of the building is as mean as can be

be imagined, and I should suppose it was resorted to only by the lowest classes of the Jewish race.

The revolution has not produced any changes in the ecclesiastical policy of the United Provinces. The ministers of the established church, that of the reformer of Geneva, though they are almost without exception attached to the old government, and consequently hostile to the new, continue to receive their regular salaries from the state, and perform unmolested the duties of their sacred function. The churches and other places dedicated to pious uses, are well attended on days of public worship. That day which the christian world has peculiarly appropriated to the service of religion, is kept in Amsterdam with becoming solemnity and observance ; and I believe there is, in general, less indifference on religious subjects in Holland, than in any part of Europe. There is not, however, much zeal. The happy toleration which all the sectaries enjoy, and the wise seclusion of the ministers of the established church from any concern
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in the government of the republic, which would give them a dangerous influence as well as an invidious distinction, are the preponderating causes which have checked the growth of religious dissensions in Holland.

Since the first establishment of the independence of the United Provinces, the repose of the republic has scarcely ever been disturbed by disputes concerning religion. The synods of Dort have not indeed often been distinguished for the moderation of their sentiments, but the reluctance of the government to adopt their religious animosities, repressed the spirit of persecution and theological rancour which they evinced.

The republic early derived manifold advantages from the liberal system of toleration which it adopted. That they might enjoy in tranquillity their religious opinions, and serve God after the dictates of their own hearts, multitudes, harassed by persecution in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England, fled into Holland, where they were hospitably received, and materially contributed by their industry and virtues to
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advance the prosperity of the republic. They brought with them a large portion of liberality of sentiment, and, from personal suffering and experience, a determined aversion to every species of religious persecution. The sentiments of moderation, which perhaps they at first adopted through necessity, or to place in a disadvantageous view the conduct of their triumphant adversaries, became in course of time fundamental maxims, increasing in solidity and firmness as the lapse of years wore away the asperities of personal resentments.

The respectable sect of Quakers is less numerous in Holland than I should have expected for a religious community whose manners and habits seem so suitable to the genius of the Dutch nation. The Anabaptist congregations are large, and dispersed over all parts of the republic. The members of this persuasion have always shewn themselves warmly attached to civil and religious liberty, and the weight of their influence has constantly been thrown into the patriotic scale.

Amsterdam

Amsterdam abounds in charitable institutions for the indiscriminate benefit of the indigent of all religious persuasions. Into the Foundling-hospital are equally received the unhappy offspring of Christians and Jews; but they are all educated in the calvinistic faith. This hospital for the reception and maintenance of destitute children, usually afforded before the revolution an asylum to near two thousand deserted infants, but its funds have suffered considerably from that event, and the number of objects which it supports is consequently reduced. The Roman-catholics, the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, and even the Jews, have orphan-houses for the destitute children of their sects: that which belongs to the Roman-catholics is the noblest building, and enjoys the amplest revenues.

As a subject connected with hospitals and charitable foundations, it may not be improper here to mention, that the cow-pox, which time will probably prove to be one of the most valuable discoveries in the art of preventing disease ever made, has met

with as favourable a reception in Holland from the faculty, as it has in England. A few bigotted persons, with whom superstitious women and weak men join, object to the cow-pox inoculation, because they say it introduces a bestial disorder into the human system; but the liberal and enlightened part of the medical tribe espouse with warmth this new method of avoiding a loathsome and dangerous distemper, and their practice has been uniformly successful. The disease has been known for time immemorial to the peasants of Friesland, in which province the greatest quantities of butter and cheese are yearly produced, and the result of various enquiries among them have been uniformly in favour of the cow-pox.

The belief of its utility and efficacy is so thoroughly established in Holland, that in the Foundling-hospital of Amsterdam, and other charitable institutions where young children are received, the old mode of inoculation is exploded, and the vaccine infection substituted in its stead. This departure from the old practice of surgery was not
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made, until the consent and approbation of the governors and curators of these benevolent establishments had been previously obtained, and therefore it may be concluded that the vaccine inoculation is extensively adopted in private families.

The Dutch theatre in Amsterdam is a building about the size of the summer play-house in the Haymarket. It can seldom boast of a numerous audience ; but whether this proceeds from a want of taste in the Dutch for dramatic representations, or the calamities of the republic have injured public spectacles and entertainments as well as the fortunes of individuals, I cannot determine. Though plays are only performed in the Dutch theatre three times a week, and a favourite piece was acted on the evening I attended it, scarcely half a dozen of boxes were occupied by company, nor was the audience in the pit and gallery proportionably much more numerous. The house was ill lighted ; and it did not appear to have been painted for some considerable time. On one side of the stage is a figure of the

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tragic,

tragic, and on the other of the comic muse, which are spiritedly executed, and produce a good effect.

The play was a tragedy founded on a domestic story, and by no means destitute of striking incident or feeling, though perhaps sometimes too declamatory for the genuine march of passion. The performance of the actors in general was highly respectable, and we were much gratified in particular with the acting of Madame Kaphuyze, the Mrs. Siddons of the Dutch stage, who was the heroine of the piece. This lady possesses most of the requisites which are necessary to form an excellent actress. She is tall and well formed in her person; and her features are beautiful and expressive. Her voice is powerful, and capable of all the variety of tones which different passions require. She is spoken of as a woman not only of great judgment in whatever relates to her profession, but with respect to literature in general as a person of singular acquirements and knowledge. Madame Kaphuyze is thought by her admirers
equally

equally to excel in the display of violent and pathetic emotions, to feign with equal correctness the wild phrensies of madness, and the sober melancholy of despair. She was happiest, I thought, in the delivery of those sentiments where tenderness and delicate feeling prevail; and of such a cast chiefly was the character in which we saw her perform. Her action is chaste, but never languid, and always correct, without any appearance of study or constraint. On her first entrance on the stage, she was welcomed with universal applause, a testimony of public favour which was bestowed on no other performer, and every passage which she delivered with more than common energy was as flatteringly received. Madame Kaphuyze does not exceed the age of thirty, and for several years she has been the favourite of the Amsterdam stage. A Dutch lady, who accompanied us to the theatre, preferred her to Mrs. Siddons, whom she had seen in her principal characters, and of whose merits she spoke with just and critical admiration; but we thought her obviously inferior to the great

actress of the English stage, though undoubtedly possessed of a high degree of excellence.

One scene of the tragedy would have excited the indignation or laughter of an English audience. A character of considerable consequence in the piece is discovered on the stage with a lighted pipe of tobacco in his mouth, which he smokes at his ease, delivering, in the interval between each puff, a soliloquy. The Dutch audience not only tolerated, but applauded this incident.

Nearly all the plays which have appeared in Germany or England, from the rapid pen of Kotzebue, have been exhibited on the Dutch stage; and the theatres of Holland are also enriched with faithful translations of the best dramatic pieces which exist in the English or French languages. Nor have there been wanting dramatic authors of the Dutch nation, whose works have been favourably received on the stage. The public taste for dramatic representation in Holland has, like the public taste in England, been vitiated by the numerous pieces which have
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been borrowed from the German stage, pieces the moral tendency of which is bad, the feeling that they exhibit forced, and in which the place of nature is usurped by a creature of the poet's imagination, which he denominates sensibility *.

As at Rotterdam, which remark I had before occasion to make, the concerts are the best attended places of amusements in the capital of Holland. They are usually performed either at the *Felix Meritis*, or the French theatre. At the latter place, on a Sunday evening, which is the fashionable day in Amsterdam for this entertainment, we heard a good concert of vocal and instrumental music. The company was numerous, and composed of the most opulent and polite persons of both sexes in the city. The performances of the evening, the singers, and the musicians, were suitable to the audience. We were dazzled, as on a former occasion

* This sensibility is a kind of defensive armour for the delicate fibres of the heart, which, true to nature, shrink from the slightest hostile contact.

in the same place, and afterwards at the Dutch theatre, with the profusion of diamonds which the ladies wore.

Some girls clad in the dress which prevailed in Holland a century or two ago, with their hair bound close to their heads, and covered with a scanty unornamented cap, such as the female quakers wear in England; with large plates of thin gold projecting from each side of their foreheads, and a plate on the middle; with ponderous ear-rings and necklaces of the same metal; with gowns of thick silk, heavily embroidered, and waists of unnatural length and rotundity; formed a striking contrast with the females arrayed in the tasteful elegancies of modern fashion. They were daughters of the ancient stock of burghers, and adhered, probably with some tincture of affectation, uninfluenced by modern refinements and variations of female dress, to the uncouth habiliments of their ancestors.

The women of Holland in general are lovely rather than beautiful. For the most part they are well formed in their persons; their

their complexions are fair, their eyes full and sparkling, and their features bold and regular. But their countenances are inanimate; they want that cast and expression of feature, without which, to my ideas, no high degree of beauty can exist, and with which an ordinary face charms. I speak, I should observe, of women whose graces the heats of five-and-twenty summers, or the rigors of as many winters, have not impaired, for after that period of life the Dutch ladies lose their attractions; the rosy blush of youth forsakes them, and their fine complexions assume a fallow autumnal hue. Women are shorter lived in Holland than men, but from what cause I cannot pretend to account: the contrary is the case in England; and the reason is obvious, because women lead more regular and temperate lives. There are few, perhaps no instances of what can be called extreme longevity in Holland; and the fault is rather in the unwholesomeness of the climate, than in any want of precautions in the Dutch to protract their lives to the utmost date. They
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are in general temperate in their diet, and the use of spirituous liquors and wines does not prevail to near so great an extent in Holland as in England. A drunken person is rarely to be seen; and that vice is accounted infamously dishonourable, if frequently practised.

Among the personal faults which I have heard imputed to the stadtholder, after imbecility of understanding, he has usually been accused of a passion for the pleasures of intoxication; and it is said that during the latter part of his government he was seldom sober. Much credit, however, is not to be attached to such rumours, and certainly the Prince of Orange does not carry marks of inebriety on his face. The lethargic disposition of the stadtholder has not been seized by the wit or malice of party in Holland, as a subject of ridicule against the fugitive prince. His personal infirmities disappear before more substantial objects of irritation and resentment.

The Dutch in general are well acquainted with anecdotes of the court and domestic parties

parties in England: but they confidently attribute to the king a vice so well known to be contrary to his disposition and habits, that calumny only could have invented, and the most virulent animosity received, the accusation. They maintain that his majesty indulges so freely in the pleasures of the bottle, as frequently to be incapable of attending to public affairs; and the acts of the British government which they most loudly condemn, they suppose to originate from this pernicious propensity in the chief magistrate of the empire. The only caricature print which I saw in Holland, respecting British personages (except an obsolete one relative to Lord Malmesbury's fruitless journies to Paris and Lisle, and the rout of the English and Russian troops in North Holland), represented the king asleep, apparently in the last stage of intoxication, with bottles and glasses before him, and at a distance Mr. Pitt, the Emperor of Germany, and other potentates and princes, in hostile array against Bonaparte. Mr. Pitt is made to encourage the confederates, by saying, "Fight on:—
George

George will pay for all.”—It may be gathered from hence, that inebriety is accounted by the Dutch a vice highly pernicious and dishonourable.

I had frequently to answer enquiries, particularly of French officers, respecting the attempt made by Hadfield on the life of the king. The accounts of that transaction which had reached Holland were imperfect; and from the acquittal of the culprit it was concluded, that the king's life had been in less imminent danger than it really was. The conduct of the English court of justice during the trial of Hadfield had given extremely favourable impressions of its equity, and his acquitment was regarded something like a phenomenon in the history of modern tribunals. It was considered as a consummate act of justice. The subsequent confinement of Hadfield they regarded in a proper view, not as an act of punishment or revenge, but as a necessary precaution against any future mischiefs which his insanity might lead him to attempt.

The Dutch, in general, are to be praised
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for their temperance, and the extreme impropriety which they attach to the vice of drunkenness. A woman who should be guilty of this fault, did she belong to the higher walks of life, would be shunned and despised by her acquaintance; and if she moved in a lower sphere, the magistrates would think her a fit object for the correction and discipline of the Spin-house.

As a subject not unconnected with the foregoing observations respecting health and temperance, I may be permitted to animadvert on the preposterous management of children in Holland. The air of the country is considered so prejudicial to tender infants, that for the first two or three months of their existence they are not suffered to be taken abroad; and during the period of their confinement, the windows of their apartments are kept inviolably shut. Their dress chiefly consists of flannel rollers, which are girt so tightly about their bodies, that the infant has not the power to move its limbs; and these ligatures are further covered with an ample flannel wrapper, which is bound
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three or four times round the body of the child, and securely fastened with pins at its feet. These ligatures are removed, and the flannels changed, according to the circumstances of the parents; but whether the offspring of opulent persons or poor, the use of water and ablutions are rigorously denied to infants. For many months the under dress of children consists entirely of woollen garments; and when they are permitted to go abroad, the greatest care is taken, by wrapping them up in a flannel mantle, which covers their heads, to prevent them from respiring the free air.

Thus absurdly managed, Dutch infants are sickly, squalid objects; and the ruddy tints of health never appear on their cheeks till they are liberated from the restraints of the nursery. Children, particularly females, are frequently indulged in the pernicious use of chauffepies or stoves, and this custom invariably gives them an unwholesome, diseased appearance.

I must not omit to mention a practice which I believe is peculiar to Holland. When
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a woman is brought to bed, a bulletin is daily fixed to her house for a fortnight, or longer if she continues so ill as to excite the solicitude of her friends, which contains a statement of the health of the mother and the child. This bulletin is fastened to a board ornamented with lace, according to the circumstances of the person lying in, and serves to answer the enquiries of her friends, and to prevent any unnecessary noise being made near the door of the indisposed person. We saw at Leyden the most of these boards ornamented with lace, and there learnt their meaning. When a person of consequence is dangerously ill, a bulletin of health is generally affixed to their house, to satisfy the numerous enquiries that are, or are supposed to be, made after them; but, unless it is a child-bed case, the board, to which the bulletin is pasted, is unornamented with lace.

LETTER XIV.

Attachment of Amsterdam to the cause of liberty.—The patriots discharged from their employments in 1787.—Emigrations from Holland.—The majority of the Dutch nation averse to the war with France.—Measures to suppress popular meetings.—An inundation of the country proposed.—The citizens of Amsterdam remonstrate against that design.—Imprisonment of the patriots.—The stadtholderian party struck with consternation at the progress of the French.—Entrance of General Pichegru into Amsterdam.—Proclamations from the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam, and from the representatives of the French people.—The regents of Amsterdam displaced.—Provisional representatives of Holland.—P. Paulus chosen president.—Declaration of the rights of man.

Amsterdam, November, 1800.

FROM the earliest periods of the republic to the present times, the city of Amsterdam has

has been distinguished for its invariable and faithful attachment to the cause of liberty. This passion has neither been enfeebled by commerce, nor debauched by wealth. It glowed with equal ardour when, in 1650, the burghers of Amsterdam repulsed William II. one of the most ambitious princes of the house of Orange, from the gates of their city; and when, in 1787, their descendants reluctantly submitted, obliged by imperious necessity, to the terms imposed on them by William V. supported by the arms of Prussia, and the intrigues and menaces of Great Britain.

The successful termination for the Orange party of the troubles which agitated Holland in 1787, subdued for a season the spirit of liberty in Amsterdam. The most eminent patriots were discharged from their employments, and declared incapable of ever serving the state *; and their offices were filled

* The Princess of Orange, who directed the negotiations between the city of Amsterdam and the Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian army, declared,

filled with men entirely devoted to the stadtholder. On the ruin of their cause, many persons of great abilities and integrity, who had distinguished themselves by their resolute opposition to the ambitious measures of the Prince of Orange, fearing that their personal safeties would be endangered if they remained in Holland, or unable to brook the triumph of their adversaries, from whose resentments they had much to apprehend, and nothing to hope from their modera-

in a tone rather of insult than of clemency, that she spared the lives of the guilty through the generosity of her disposition, but required that they should be for ever incapable of holding any public employment. Among the persons thus dismissed were, Messrs. Block, Cammerling, De Witt, Toulon, and Van Foreest, deputies of Holland; Costerus, burgomaster of Woerden; De Lange, regent of Gonda; Gillaer, a man of uncommon eloquence and abilities, pensioner of Dort; Zeeberg and Van Casteelen, pensioners of Haerlem; Van Berkel and Visscher, pensioners of Amsterdam; Kempenaar, counsellor of Alkmaer; Abbema, Bicker, Van Leyden, and De Jonge, members of the regency of Amsterdam. Most of these citizens, who have survived the revolution, occupy distinguished situations under the new government, and enjoy the confidence and approbation of their countrymen.

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tion, quitted their country, and fled into France *. The voluntary exile of some of their most determined, active, and enlightened opponents, facilitated the views of the stadtholderian party ; and magistrates were appointed throughout the republic, and particularly in Amsterdam, on whose devotion to its interests the house of Orange could securely rely. The government of the United Provinces was soon modelled according to the wishes of the stadtholder ; and the success with which he had vanquished his enemies, procured him, among the illiterate and unthinking, a short-lived popularity.

The events of the French revolution materially changed the situation of affairs in Holland. The Dutch patriots had always

* Among other fugitives of rank and consideration who at this period quitted Holland, were General Daendals and Admiral de Winter. On the breaking-out of the French revolution, they were employed in the republican armies ; and Daendals bore the rank of general of division, and De Winter that of general of brigade, in the army which conquered Holland.

looked to the French government, whether monarchical or republican, for support against the encroachments of the stadtholder, and the malign influence which the cabinet of Great Britain possessed in the councils of the United Provinces. A firm and intimate alliance with France was considered by that party as the only means by which the honour of the republic could be retrieved, and its affairs extricated from the pernicious administration of an individual, under the immediate control and direction of a rival government.

On the other hand, the stadtholder, who had invariably been averse to any connection with France, beheld with increased sentiments of aversion the old government of that country abolished, and a system from which he had more to apprehend established in its place. The states-general, the sovereigns of the republic, though much at the devotion of the Prince of Orange, did not entirely enter into his views on this subject, and cautiously avoided a war with France, until the arrogance and imprudence of the
convention

convention had rendered hostilities inevitable.

The partisans of the stadtholder, and the creatures of the government, entered with alacrity into a war, which favoured their views, and promised to gratify their resentments. But the majority of the Dutch nation, unper-suaded of the necessity of hostilities, or fearful of the consequences, coolly acquiesced in, rather than approved of, the violent measures of the government.

The more numerous part of the citizens of Amsterdam were decidedly averse, from animosity to the stadtholder, and other causes connected with their dislike of the Prince of Orange, to the war with France; and beheld first with secret satisfaction, and afterwards with open exultation, the victorious progress of the armies of that republic. But the magistrates were entirely devoted to the stadtholder; and their authority was employed to suppress the public voice. To prevent popular meetings, at which the wishes of the people might have been loudly expressed, an obsolete law was revived, by

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which

which the citizens were forbid to assemble for the discussion of public affairs, in a season of national distress. This ordinance was issued when the French were on the frontiers of the republic, and at a time when the most desperate measures, for the security of the United Provinces, were deliberated on by the stadtholder and his party.

In the month of October, 1794, when affairs were drawing near to a crisis, the stadtholder, accompanied by the Duke of York, repaired to Amsterdam, to concert, it was thought, with the regency of that city, the terrible measure of preventing the further progress of the French arms by an inundation of the country, as had been executed with success in 1672, when Lewis XIV. with a numerous and well-appointed army, was master of Utrecht, and threatened Amsterdam. The regency of the city, alarmed at the progress of the French, and corrupted or intimidated by the stadtholder, would probably have acceded to the inundation proposed, had not the burghers of Amsterdam received intimation that such a measure

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sure was in agitation, and expressed their resolute determination to oppose its execution by force, should the government rashly proceed with their design.

In defiance of the proclamation by which popular meetings were prohibited, a numerous and formidable body of the citizens of Amsterdam assembled to take into consideration the situation of the country, and to present a petition, or rather remonstrance, to the council of regency against the proposed inundation, and the admission of foreign troops into Amsterdam, which was a plan connected with the former measure. The remonstrants, in spite of the endeavours of the military, and civil magistrates, to disperse them, assembled with great regularity and order in the square before the stadthouse, and deputed three persons, one of whom was Visscher, the dismissed pensioner *, to present their strong, but respectful petition to the regents. The magi-

* Dismissed in 1787. See note, p. 276.

strates refused at first to receive the petition, as it was contrary to their ordinance for the people to assemble ; but the fear of exasperating the immense and irresistible multitude—which filled the avenues of the stadthouse, the square, and the adjacent streets, and maintained, during the conference of their deputies with the regents, a profound and terrible silence—by any unseasonable act of authority, subdued the *legal scruples* of the magistrates, and the remonstrance was read. The answer to the petitioners briefly stated, that the question of the expediency of inundating the country, to prevent the further progress of the French army, had not yet been discussed in the council, and no measures were taken respecting the admission of foreign troops into Amsterdam. With this reply the citizens were satisfied, and quietly dispersed, leaving, however, on the minds of the magistrates an impression of danger and resistance, which probably materially influenced their future operations.

The regents of Amsterdam, finding themselves

selves too weak for the execution of the important measures which they proposed, displayed the extent of their disappointment and indignation by the rigorous steps which they adopted towards the persons who had taken an active part respecting the petition. Visscher and his colleagues who presented the remonstrance were privately apprehended, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the Rasp-house, with felons and malefactors. This was the last vindictive measure which was executed by the ancient magistracy of Amsterdam.

The citizens, undismayed by the imprisonment of their leaders, and encouraged by the advances of the French, continued to assemble, and now, without molestation, though their object was notoriously hostile to the stadtholderian party, formed themselves into regular corps for the protection of the city of Amsterdam. The officers commanding these corps were for the most part men who had been active in their opposition to the stadtholder in 1787, or were distinguished

distinguished for their attachment to French principles.

From the capture of Nimeguen, and the subsequent passage of the Waal, extreme consternation seems to have palsied all the movements of the stadtholderian party. The British and German auxiliaries, though labouring under unspeakable disadvantages from the inferiority of their numbers, and the rigour of the season, which deprived Holland of its natural means of defence, made a gallant resistance on the frontiers of the republic; but far from receiving any support from the interior, it was dubious whether they would not have to sustain on one side the attacks of an enraged people, while on the other they were pressed by a victorious enemy. In vain the stadtholder and the hereditary prince issued proclamation after proclamation, exhorting the Dutch to rise in a mass for the defence of their dear country *, their religion, liberties, and an-

* I borrow this expression from one of the proclamations to which I allude.

cient laws. These pathetic addresses to the nation were ridiculed or disregarded; and wherever torpor and inactivity did not possess men's minds, the spirit which prevailed was hostile to the government and its allies.—The disastrous retreat of the British army is too well known to be dwelt on here!

On the 16th of January, 1795, the English troops precipitately evacuated the province of Utrecht, the capital of which had capitulated the day before; and on the 20th of the same month a deputation of citizens from Amsterdam conducted General Pichegru with five thousand French troops into that city.

Early in the morning of this important day, the patriotic corps of Amsterdam took possession of the stadthouse, and mounted guard in the principal parts of the city. The tri-coloured flag was displayed from all the steeples of the town; the French cockade was universally worn; and the tree of liberty solemnly planted in the square before the stadthouse. So admirably had the whole
business

business been arranged, that not the slightest tumult or confusion occurred ; and, to use the words of an intelligent eye-witness *, which give a clearer idea than twenty sentences could do—" it seemed on this occasion at Amsterdam as if it were fair-time."

On the day that the French entered Amsterdam two proclamations were issued ; one from the patriots, styling themselves the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam, tending to tranquillise the minds of the citizens, and recommending several individuals to be chosen as provisional representatives ; the other a proclamation of the representatives of the French people, assuring the Dutch that they should be treated as an independent nation, that persons and property should be protected, that the strictest military discipline should be observed by the republican army, and that the freedom of religious worship should suffer no restraint. They

* A merchant residing at Amsterdam, to whom I am under various obligations.

promised that the laws and customs of Holland should be provisionally maintained; and that the Batavian people alone, exercising that sovereignty which belonged to them, should have the power to alter and modify the constitution of their country *.

The regents of Amsterdam resigned their offices, or were displaced, and Viſſcher, who scarcely two months before was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the Rasp-house, was triumphantly liberated from his confinement, and placed, with the title of mayor, at the head of the magistracy of the city. For this arduous office he was well qualified by the situations which he had formerly filled with honour, and for the unimpeached integrity and patriotism of his character.

At this time a proclamation was issued to the French army by General Pichegru, prohibiting the troops, under pain of death, from committing any acts of plunder or dis-

* See in the Appendix, the paper marked A.

order, and ordering them to treat the Dutch soldiers no longer as enemies, but as allies and brethren. The officers of the army were commanded to maintain the strictest discipline in their corps, and redress was freely promised to all individuals who should think themselves aggrieved by the republican troops. The French soldiers were impartially quartered on the inhabitants of Amsterdam: but it was permitted to those who did not choose to have the military in their own houses, to furnish them with lodgings elsewhere, provided (a most salutary regulation!) the soldiers, so disposed of, were not quartered in taverns or public houses.

In a few days, the provisional representatives of Holland commenced their sittings at the Hague. Peter Paulus, a man of great abilities and distinguished patriotism, who had rendered himself, in 1787, highly obnoxious to the stadtholderian party, was chosen president of the assembly, and commenced the meeting with a speech, replete with rational piety, candour, and moderation.

deration*. He congratulated the representatives on the event of the campaign, and in a strain of becoming humility and devotion, called their attention to the striking interposition of Divine Providence in behalf of the arms of France. He recommended a cordial union among themselves, and an oblivion of all former animosities and party dissensions, as the likeliest methods to ensure the prosperity of the country, and concluded with piously supplicating the blessing of Heaven on their counsels and measures.

The provisional representatives then proceeded to frame a declaration of the rights of men and citizens. The natural rights of man were defined to be, equality, liberty, safety, property, and resistance to oppression. Under these heads were severally included, the freedom of the press and of religious worship, the peaceful enjoyment of property legally acquired, and the right of suffrage either personally or by representation. The sovereignty was declared to reside in the en-

* See in the Appendix the paper marked B.

tire people ; and their right at all times to change their government, to reform it, or to establish another, was solemnly asserted. The offices of hereditary stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral-general of the republic, as contrary to the rights of man, were abolished ; and all hereditary distinctions, as those of nobility or the equestrian order, were promiscuously abolished. Various colleges of magistracy and finance were suppressed ; and a committee of public safety, a committee of finance, a military committee, and a committee of accounts, were provisionally appointed, until a definitive arrangement could be made on these subjects by representatives chosen by the whole nation.

LETTER XV.

Conduct of the provisional representatives of Amsterdam.—Inquiries respecting the solvency of the bank.—Official report on the subject.—Deficiency of cash.—Nature of bank credits and receipts.—Indignation against the members of the old government.—Violent measures strongly recommended.—Wise proclamation of the representatives of Amsterdam.—Its beneficial effects.—Abolition of the stadtholderate.—Expressions of public joy at Amsterdam on that occasion.—The French representatives and generals occupied comparatively but little attention during these revolutionary movements. Character of General Pichegru in Holland.—The inhabitants of the United Provinces required to deliver up their plate for the use of the nation.—This ordinance cheerfully complied with through animosity to Great Britain.—Attention of the Dutch to their marine.—Removal of large bodies of the French troops.—Estimate of the amount of the contributions paid to the French.

Amsterdam, 1800.

DURING this arduous period, the provisional representatives of Amsterdam laboured
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incessantly

incessantly to preserve the tranquillity of the city, and their patriotic endeavours were attended with the happiest success. Some slight disturbances were attempted by an inconsiderable number of misled or ill-disposed persons, who thinking the reign of liberty and equality was to bring an exemption from taxes, refused to pay the taxes and duties required by the government. This tendency to riot was, without difficulty, suppressed, and a proclamation appeared commanding all persons to pay in every case the same contributions and imposts as formerly. At the same time the officers of the excise and customs, and all public functionaries employed in the collection of revenue, were commanded to remain at their post; and it was ordered that no magistrate or officer under the old system of police should quit Amsterdam, without having previously obtained a passport from the committee of inspection.

Some weeks before the arrival of the French, a deputation of merchants in the patriotic interest waited on the directors of the bank of Amsterdam, to ascertain the truth

truth or falsehood of some rumours highly prejudicial to the credit of that institution, which were circulated with confidence in the city. The merchants respectfully applied to the directors for information on the subject, but instead of receiving the satisfactory answers to their enquiries which they had a right to expect, they were assured in a general way of the solvency of the bank; and it was intimated to them, that their enquiries were made only for the purposes of exciting alarm and adding to the public embarrassments.

A few years ago, the bank of Amsterdam was supposed to contain the greatest quantity of accumulated treasures in the world. It was accounted the store-house of Europe for the precious metals: and various estimates have been formed of its wealth, from the incredible sum of forty millions sterling*, to the equally suspicious estimate of three hundred thousand pounds. The bank of

* Nothing but the most absurd credulity could ever have adopted this supposition.

Amsterdam was a bank of deposit, and the credit on its books was thought to be rigorously proportioned with the treasures in its coffers. This was indeed the spirit of the institution; for though the vulgar idea was unfounded, that no money once deposited in this bank could ever afterwards be withdrawn, it invariably professed to keep in its repositories a quantity of money or bullion equal to the sums for which credit was given on its books. In 1672, when the forces of Lewis XIV. almost thundered at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was filled with consternation, all demands on the bank were honourably and instantaneously discharged, and the proofs of its solvency ostentatiously displayed.

From that period, till again in 1795 the armies of France hovered on the frontiers of the republic, the bank of Amsterdam enjoyed an almost uninterrupted course of commercial confidence. The magistrates of various parties, to whose integrity the direction of the bank was successively intrusted, never accused their predecessors of any improper
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use of its treasures ; and, therefore, though some suspicions were entertained and propagated that the bank occasionally accommodated the government with specie, these suspicions, being discountenanced by the persons possessed of the best information on the subject, were disregarded as the effects of party malice. It was also a kind of commercial heresy to doubt the stability of the bank of Amsterdam ; and therefore all rumours to its disadvantage were not only received by the mercantile world with coldness, but repressed with acrimony.

The arrival of the French in Amsterdam, and the establishment of the patriotic party in power, at length produced a complete investigation of the affairs of the bank. It appeared from the official report, published by order of the provisional representatives of Amsterdam, on this subject *, that for the last fifty years the bank had occasionally advanced on bond to the India company,

* See Appendix, paper C.

under guarantee of the city of Amsterdam, various sums, amounting on the whole to upwards of six million florins. In a similar way the provinces of Holland and West Friesland were indebted to the bank nearly a million florins. The loan-office of Amsterdam had contracted with the bank a debt of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand florins, and the city was otherwise in arrears with the bank upwards of four hundred thousand florins. The whole amounting to upwards of nine million florins, or rather more than eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. For the whole of this sum there had originally been investments of cash or bullion in the bank, to remove one florin of which, by way of loan, was a violation of the compact between the bank and its creditors. But if the money so disposed of, instead of being hoarded up in the coffers of the bank, in a duplicate ratio increased the circulating medium of the country, efficiently by the cash so issued from the strong chests of the bank, and virtually by the credit which it possessed from the imaginary treasure lodged
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in it, giving confidence and activity to commerce, and facilitating all the operations of trade, in a mercantile point of view, the conduct of the directors, in thus departing from the letter of their establishment, was to be applauded rather than condemned.

The merchants of Amsterdam, however, thought otherwise. This deficiency in the sacred deposits of the bank excited the most vivid indignation against all who had been concerned in the management of that institution, and the spirit of party tended to keep alive and heighten the flames of commercial resentment.

The money thus taken from the coffers of the bank could at no time have been claimed by its creditors, being an accumulation of treasure for which the receipts were expired, by which alone payment could be demanded. The nature of these receipts, by which alone cash could be drawn from the bank of Amsterdam, may be briefly explained. When a person deposited cash or
bullion

bullion in the bank, he obtained credit in its books for the sum which he so invested, and a receipt, by which, within the period of six months, after cancelling the credit that he had obtained, he could draw his cash or bullion from the bank. These receipts were renewable on payment of a small per centage to the bank, as warehouse rent for the cash lodged in it. If they were permitted to expire, the money or bullion, for which they were granted, could not be withdrawn from the bank, but the person who had so invested it, possessed an equivalent bank credit; which, however, he could convert into cash, by purchasing a receipt for the sum that he wanted in the stock-market, where they were generally to be sold.

Of the cash and bullion which had fallen to the bank, or rather was become, or ought to have been, locked up in it, from the expiration of these receipts, not a single florin remained; and the amount of this mighty and boasted treasure, had it been carefully
stored

stored in the vaults and caves of the bank, would not have reached the sum of one million sterling.

This deficiency, however, of the cash of the bank of Amsterdam, related only to the bank credit, the cash receipts of which were expired. According to the statement of the provisional representatives of Amsterdam, the quantity of cash in the bank was equal to the payment of the sums for which receipts were in force; and the holders of bank credit, in the possession of such receipts, were at liberty to withdraw their money from the bank whenever they thought proper. The circumstances of the bank consequently only were bad, according to the proportion that the bank credit, for which there were receipts, bore to the debts of the bank for which there were no receipts. On the whole, the accounts of the bank, from the report made by the provisional representatives, were in a better state than was generally expected; but, nevertheless, the public indignation was strong, that any part of its treasures should have been taken from
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its repositories, contrary to the universally-received engagement between the bank and its creditors.

Enquiries took place at the same time into the affairs and conduct of the East and West India Companies, and other public bodies; various abuses were discovered; and in most cases it was judged expedient to dismiss the principal officers and servants of the companies, &c. from their employments.

These discoveries of maladministration in various branches of the public service, together with the memory of former injuries, which rankled in the breasts of many, exciting a strong desire for revenge, produced much fermentation. Addresses, powerfully supported, were presented to the provisional representatives, demanding that all the members of the old government, and other persons concerned in the management of the bank and public companies, should be put under arrest; and that the most rigorous enquiry should be made into their delinquencies, in order that public justice, and the vengeance
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of an outraged nation, might overtake the guilty. The conduct of the French towards their state criminals was hinted at as an example not unworthy of imitation, and the necessity of severe measures was loudly asserted.

This inclination of an active, and, under the new system, of a weighty and formidable part of the public, towards sanguinary, or at least violent, proceedings against the members of the old government, would probably have been matured by the animosity of faction into actual execution, had not the provisional representatives of Amsterdam wisely checked in its infancy the growth of this spirit of revolutionary vengeance.

In a proclamation addressed to the people of Amsterdam, relative to the vindictive measures recommended to be pursued with the members of the old government, and other obnoxious persons, the provisional representatives, in a tone of the most admirable moderation and humanity, expressed their disapprobation of such sentiments. No state

paper

paper ever breathed a purer spirit of equity and conciliation. After noticing, with proper censure, the suggestions that had been made to them of the necessity of violent measures against the prostrate and vanquished agents of the subverted government, these enlightened and virtuous republicans proceeded to state the noble sentiments with which they were animated. "He deserves not to triumph," they said, "who basely abuses his victory." "The exercise of revenge," continue they, "may afford a transitory pleasure in the moments of passion and delirium, but its consequences are commonly sad and fatal, while the exercise of equity and of generosity leaves nothing but agreeable sensations." Unanimity and oblivion of past animosities were energetically and persuasively recommended, as the most probable and laudable means to promote the welfare and prosperity of the republic. In answer to the recommendation, that measures of precaution and severity, like those which the French revolution had given birth to, should be used with regard to all suspected persons,

persons, the great difference between the revolution of Holland and that of France was clearly pointed out, and the relatively happy situation of the Batavian patriots obviously demonstrated. It was the Dutch nation, and not a faction, which triumphed; it was, the cause of liberty and equality, not the spirit of destruction and revenge. The people were exhorted to make a cordial offer of the right hand of fellowship to such of their brethren as were deluded or misled, and to attach them to the new system of government, not by terror, but by justice, moderation, and generosity *.

This proclamation calmed the fears of many who had taken an active part under the old government, and consequently expected, as had happened in the course of

* In the Appendix (paper D), I have given a few extracts from this interesting proclamation. It was published about the time when General Daendals and some other patriots, who had fled from Holland in 1787, and returned with the French army, were anxious to promote violent measures against their adversaries the members of the old government.

former revolutions in Holland, to be persecuted by the victorious party. At the same time it extinguished in the more violent patriots, whose resentments were inflamed by a variety of causes, the sentiments of revenge which they harboured.

About the same time an ordinance, tending further to tranquillise the minds of the people, was issued by the provisional representatives of Holland, concerning the circulation of French assignats, of which mention had been made in one of the proclamations of General Pichegru, and in another of General Daendels to his countrymen. By this ordinance, all shopkeepers and dealers in *the necessities of life*, were obliged to take as payment for their articles, from French soldiers and other persons employed in the French army, at a stipulated rate, assignats; and on delivering to the municipality a weekly account of the assignats which they thus received, they were to be paid by the municipality the amount in specie, or paper, for which the government was responsible. At the same time, the sum to be taken from a French
soldier

foldier in assignats on one occasion was limited to ten livres; and further, to prevent frauds, and circumscribe the circulation of assignats, no foldier was permitted to tender assignats for any purchase he might make, without a written sanction to that effect from his officer; and the officers of the French army, to whom the use of assignats was permitted, in proportion to their rank and pay, were not allowed to pass them without a written leave from the general of their division. All other circulation of assignats was forbidden.

To relieve the pressing necessities of the French army, a requisition was made by the representatives of the French people for a supply of clothing and provisions to be delivered in the space of one month *. The

* At Nimeguen, Bois le Duc, and Thiel. 200,000 quintals of wheat averdupois weight, 5 millions of rations of hay, 200,000 rations of straw, 150,000 pair of shoes, 20,000 pair of boots, 20,000 coats and waistcoats, 40,000 pair of breeches, 150,000 pair of pantaloons, 200,000 shirts, 50,000 hats, and 12,000 oxen. The value of the whole was estimated, probably with much exaggeration, at a million and a half sterling.

states-general, to whom the requisition was addressed, in a proclamation which betrayed their fears or their imbecility, commanded that the articles required by the French should be furnished with the promptest obedience : all persons in possession of any of the articles wanted, were ordered to deliver them up to commissioners appointed for that purpose ; and the provincial administrations were directed to furnish with all possible dispatch their several quota towards defraying the expence of the requisition.

Shortly afterwards, the inhabitants of the United Provinces were called upon to contribute *voluntarily* to the relief of the French army. Persons soliciting assistance went from house to house throughout the republic ; and as few chose by their want of generosity to be suspected of being hostile to the French, and many endeavoured to extenuate their faults under the old system, by a more than ordinary zeal for the new government and its allies, the contributions so levied amounted to a considerable sum.

A large revenue is yearly collected in this manner,

manner, by voluntary contributions, for the relief and maintenance of the poor, and the support of the charitable institutions of Holland. In Amsterdam, a few days after the arrival of the French, the sum of near forty thousand florins was thus collected for the relief of the indigent of that city; a circumstance not unworthy of being known, as it strongly marks the tranquillity of the place, at a time when it could only be considered as a captured town.

On the sixteenth of February, 1795, a solemn assembly of the deputies from all the provinces was held at the Hague, and at this meeting *the stadtholderate was formally declared to be abolished for ever.* The same day a republican festival was celebrated, at which the French representatives and the leaders of the army assisted with the Dutch legislators.

At Amsterdam the solemn promulgation of the abolition of the stadtholdership was received with the wildest testimonies of public joy. All business was suspended, to celebrate with proper exultation so auspicious

an event. On every steeple the tri-coloured flag was displayed; salutes of artillery were fired from the men-of-war and bastions, and all the clocks of the city chimed patriotic airs*. In the evening the town was illuminated, and in the square before the stadthouse fire-works were exhibited.—The representatives of the French people on this occasion re-assured the Dutch of their independence.

By resigning almost entirely into the hands of the Dutch the management of their own affairs, the French representatives and generals during this period of revolutionary movement occupied comparatively but an inconsiderable proportion of the public attention. Of the representatives I learnt no particulars which deserve to be preserved; but General Pichegru, notwithstanding the

* The Dutch patriotic airs possess much of that plaintiveness for which the Irish melodies are distinguished.—I cannot refrain from mentioning in this place, that when the British army entered Alkmaer, the carillons or chimes of that town regaled the ears of the troops with "God save the king."

clouds which have of late obscured his fortunes, and the treasons that have tainted his character, is still spoken of in Holland with sentiments of respect and esteem. I have heard his military talents questioned by persons well qualified to pronounce on the subject ; but the astonishing success of his campaigns has always made me receive such reports with scepticism. If he is not to be ranked with the first generals whom the present contest has produced, he undoubtedly deserves to hold a distinguished place among the leaders, who have covered with laurels the arms of the French republic. His conduct as general of the army which conquered Holland, is represented by the Dutch as extremely amiable. It was moderate, humane, and unassuming. The vast authority which was lodged in his hands, was sullied by no acts of oppression or injustice ; and lastly, he quitted Holland unenriched by the plunder of the people whom he protected.

The financial embarrassments of the republic early in the new order of things demanded the attention of the provisional re-

presentatives of Holland, and an ordinance was published requiring that every person should deliver up all the uncoined gold and silver, or plate (except spoons or forks), in his possession. For the precious metals thus furnished a receipt was granted, which was taken as a part of the further contributions which the holder was bound to pay to the state; or if the quantity of plate furnished exceeded the amount of the taxes otherwise to be paid by the person so furnishing, he received at his option government currency, or the obligation was funded. In this ordinance were included personal ornaments, if they exceeded the value of three hundred florins, and all medals and foreign coins not current in the republic. This measure of terrible state-necessity and embarrassment, far from exciting murmurs or discontents, was obeyed throughout the United Provinces with the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness; and in this instance perhaps the love of country prevailed over avarice, for from the quantity of plate received, which was considerably more than the estimate that had been
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been formed of this resource, it was presumed that none had been withheld.

The leading cause of this promptitude in the Dutch to assist their new government, was the animosity which the nation entertained against Great Britain, with whom a war was now become inevitable. The detention of Dutch ships and property in England, the contemptuous treatment of the deputies sent to reclaim them, and the hostile measures obviously intended to be pursued against the colonial possessions of the republic, conspired to increase in Holland the flame of hatred that had long gone forth against the British nation. Every measure was embraced with avidity that tended to strengthen the republic against its *odious* and ancient rival; and the government, profiting by this enthusiasm of the people, ventured on expedients for the restoration of public credit which would not have been attempted at a period of less national spirit and ardour.

The utmost activity reigned in all the naval arsenals of the republic, and large sums were voted to place the marine forces

of the state in a respectable condition. Scarcely any thing tended more to exasperate the people against the old government than the neglect into which it had permitted the navy of the republic to fall. One of the principal accusations against the stadtholder was, that, listening to the suggestions of England, which dreaded to see the marine of Holland in a prosperous condition, the wants of the navy were not only unattended to, but every artifice was used further to enfeeble it. The measures adopted by the provisional government relative to the navy, were the most popular steps that could have been pursued. The enthusiasm of the people was kept alive by constant allusions to the bright annals of the republic, to the days of Ruyter, Tromp, and Van Brakel, when the fleets of Holland proudly insulted the coasts of England, or, audaciously forcing the narrow pass of the Baltic, gave laws to the north*.

As

* In 1659 the Dutch sent a fleet to the relief of the king of Denmark, their ally, then besieged in his capital, Copenhagen,

As the spring advanced, large bodies of the French troops, which had been cantoned in the United Provinces, were, to the great relief of the inhabitants, marched out of the territories of the republic. In requisitions, contributions of various kinds, forced and voluntary, the French were thought to have levied in a short period a sum amounting to near four millions sterling. This, with the exertions that the Dutch were making to put their navy on a respectable footing, and the severe losses they sustained by the detention of their ships and property in England, would have occasioned considerable financial embarrassments, and consequently much discontent, had not the nation approved of the new government, and seconded

Copenhagen, by the Swedes. The castles of Cronenburg and Elfsineur, which were thought to command the passage of the Sound, were garrisoned by Swedish troops; but, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition which they made, the Dutch fleet sailed triumphantly through the Sound, and defeating the Swedish navy before Copenhagen, obliged Sweden to grant a peace to Denmark on equitable terms.

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with zeal its measures. The large advances made to the French were paid with less reluctance, as they were considered as a kind of ransom for the public arsenals and stores, and the price paid by the nation for liberty to make what alterations it pleased in its constitution, without the degrading intervention of the conqueror. The admirable discipline of the French army, and the justice and humanity of its leaders, also materially tended to reconcile the people to the heavy imposts laid upon them for the support of their new allies.

LETTER XVI.

Progress of the revolution.—Emigrations.—Treaty between the French and Batavian republics.—Severe terms imposed on the Dutch.—Establishment of a directorial government.—Opinions of the Dutch concerning their losses abroad.—Sea fight of the 11th of October, 1797.—Account of Admiral De Winter.—Violent measures pursued with the legislators.—Further extortions of the French.—Treatment of the Dutch soldiers in the service of France.—Discontents in Holland.—Representations of the stadtholderian party.—The English expedition.—Opposition to the landing of the British forces.—Surrender of the Dutch fleet.—Culpable inactivity of the English forces.—Opinion of a French officer concerning the merit of the British generals.—Proclamation of the hereditary Prince of Orange.—Successes of the British and Russian troops.—Unexpected retreat of the army under the Duke of York.—A convention concluded with General Brune.—

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The terms displeasing to the Batavian directory.—Suspicions attached to General Brune.—Report of the French of the behaviour of the English during the campaign.—Prince William of Gloucester.—Treatment of the British and Russian prisoners.—Honourable conduct of the English army in Holland.—The petty warfare carried on by the navy.—Reflections on the expedition.

Amsterdam, 1800.

HITHERTO the revolution of Holland had been happily conducted, and the world saw with astonishment a nation, under the eyes of its conquerors, tranquilly proceeding to reform the abuses of its government. This spectacle was the more grand and delightful, as it occurred at a period when Europe was shaken to its centre, by civil contentions, and almost universal hostilities. Hostilities not grounded on the ordinary causes of war, but growing out of opposite principles, which imbittered the animosities of nations beyond the example of all former times. It occurred at a period when the term revolution seemed designated to express scenes of atrocity and horror, outrageous persecutions

persecutions against virtue, integrity, and talents; violations of morality, and all the social duties of life; a disregard for the claims of humanity; factions succeeding to factions, each more terrible in their measures than their predecessors; the elevation of the blood-thirsty and flagitious, and the depression of the virtuous and humane! It has already been stated that not one drop of human blood was judicially spilt on account of the revolution of Holland!

The emigrations which took place prior to the arrival of the French were considerable, but no severe laws were enacted against the persons who so fled, and the tranquillity and good order maintained by the new government induced multitudes to return to their country. A nobleman who asked permission of the president of the provisional representatives, for his brother, who had accompanied the stadtholder to England, to return to Holland, received for answer, that there were laws against emigrations, but none against returns.

The conduct of the French towards the
Dutch

Dutch nation was regarded by the latter with sentiments of gratitude and esteem, until, in the month of May, 1795, the articles of the treaty of peace between the two republics were made known. The conditions granted by France to Holland excited throughout the United Provinces the liveliest discontent. They were such as even the most zealous partisans of the new system, and the firmest adherents of the French, could not vindicate. But how were they to be rejected? Holland, completely in the power and at the mercy of France, had no alternative but to accept the conditions offered her, or see her cities given up to spoliation and rapine.

Beside the heavy contributions which had already been levied on the Dutch, a further sum, to the immense amount of one hundred millions of livres, was required by one of the articles of the treaty to be paid, either in specie or in bills upon foreign powers, as should afterwards be agreed upon, as an indemnification to the French republic for the expences of the war.

Antwerp

Antwerp being incorporated with France, the navigation of the Scheldt was declared to be free for the vessels of both republics; and dock-yards and store-houses were assigned in the port of Flushing, where the waters of the Scheldt meet the ocean, for the use of the French.

Though at peace with Austria and the powers of Germany, the Dutch were compelled to assist the French with half their disposable military force: the enemies of the French republic were acknowledged and declared to be the enemies of Holland; and twelve ships of the line, and eighteen frigates (the article probably of the treaty to which the Dutch assented with most cordiality) were agreed to be furnished for the North Sea*.

The deep discontent occasioned by this treaty, was afterwards further increased by the adoption of a government for the United Provinces, copied after that of the French republic. The moderate party were desirous

* This treaty is given in the Appendix, paper E.

of the old constitution of the United States, with some modifications and changes favourable to the popular cause, as the perpetual abolition of the stadtholderate and hereditary nobility, and an extension of the right of suffrage. But the influence of France, too weighty to be resisted, and the love of innovation, too ardent for sober reflection, prevailed over these sentiments.. The venerable state edifice of the Seven Confederated Provinces of Belgium was overthrown, and a Gallic structure, airy, light, and unsubstantial, was erected in its place. The weakness and crimes of the French directory, facilitating the enlightened views of the great man who, happily for Europe, at present guides the destinies of France, proved its overthrow ; and the Batavian government, its offspring, is verging fast, through imbecility, to dissolution. May it quietly expire !

On the establishment of a directorial government in Holland, many virtuous and enlightened patriots, disgusted at the new system of things, and not being able, under
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the circumstance of an irresistible foreign influence, to render their country further services, withdrew themselves from public affairs, to the infinite loss of the nation. Their places were occupied by another description of patriots, men who owed their consequence to the revolution, and supported it more from personal interest and feeling, than from any settled conviction of its expediency or value:—men of weak understandings, but ardent dispositions, who mistook a desire for innovation* for an inclination to do good.

The losses of the Dutch abroad, the capture of their important colony the Cape of Good Hope, and the disgraceful surrender of the fleet sent to its relief, conspired to augment the unpopularity of the new go-

* I wish the English language had a synonyme to the Greek verb *νεωτερεσθαι*, which so happily expresses the turbulence of the Grecian commonwealth; and I wonder that the refinements of modern language, and the troubles of modern times, have not produced some term by which a love of changes in governments could be at once briefly and forcibly expressed.

vernment; and strong suspicions were entertained, that in the bosom of the directory and of the councils there was a party in the pay of England, which, like the stadtholder's, betrayed the interests of the republic, and served the cause of its most dangerous rival. In particular it was thought that the fleet sent to the Cape of Good Hope was destined to fall an easy prey to the English; and rumours of this treason were afloat before the armament sailed from the ports of Holland. To ascertain the foundation on which such a report rested would probably be no easy task, but the mention that it was widely circulated and believed, serves to shew the opinion that was entertained of the government; and that men, in places of authority and trust, were thought to be base enough, for mercenary considerations, to betray their country.

The naval combat of the 11th of October, 1797, though it ended in the total defeat of their fleet, raised for a period the spirits of the Dutch nation, and was of some advantage to the government. The contest was
honourably

honourably and courageously maintained by the Dutch, and no one was suspected of having neglected his duty, or served the cause of the enemy. As I remembered to have heard in England some reports to the disadvantage of Admiral Story, who commanded a division of the Batavian fleet on that day, I made particular enquiries concerning him; and by Captain ———, who commanded a frigate on the 11th of October, and saw the whole of the engagement, I was assured that Admiral Storey's conduct was that of a brave and honourable seaman. Towards the end of the action he lost a leg; and it was not until he was so disabled, that his ship quitted the line of battle. He has since been impeached for his behaviour on another occasion; but certainly his conduct on the 11th of October, far from deserving any censure, was highly meritorious and praise-worthy.

Admiral De Winter was a general of brigade in the French army at the period of the conquest of Holland, and bears the

reputation of a good soldier, as well as of a brave and skilful admiral. He is a person of the finest character, and universally beloved. Though unfortunate to an extent, where a sense of national shame and calamity blunts the feeling of pity, and gives velocity and sharpness to the darts of calumny, his reputation is unfulled by the slightest breath of unfavourable report. His disposition is mild, and his manners singularly modest and unassuming. Yet with these qualities, which seem but ill adapted to win the hearts of the turbulent and boisterous men of the profession to which he belongs, he is viewed with the most partial affection by the officers and seamen of the Dutch marine. His conduct has invariably been marked by moderation and humanity; and though he obtained the high situation which he holds in the navy of Holland by the influence of the French, he has never sanctioned with his approbation the conduct of that republic towards his country. In all instances he has acted the part of
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a genuine and honest patriot ;—of a patriot worthy of the most virtuous times of the republic.

The popularity at home resulting to the government of Holland from the hard contested, though unsuccessful, combat of the 11th of October, was short lived. Early in the ensuing year, discontent and opposition to the measures of the Batavian administration had made such progress, not only among the people, but in the councils, that the directory, in order to maintain their authority, were obliged to have recourse to the desperate expedient of purging the legislative assemblies of their obnoxious members with an armed force. An oath of hatred to the stadtholder was then taken by the remaining members, and a decree passed, commanding the anniversary of the execution of Lewis XVI. to be observed as a festival throughout the republic. This revolution was effected without the intervention of the French ; but from the measures that immediately resulted from it, the conclusion may safely be drawn, that it had

their countenance and approbation. A similar act of outrage had, a short period before, been committed against the legislatures of France, by a part of the executive power of that republic.

Though by the treaty of peace a stipulated sum was required from the Dutch nation, as an indemnification to the French republic for the expences of the war, this price of redemption, exorbitant and immoderate as it was, served rather to excite than to allay the rapacity of the French; and new demands were made on the Batavian republic, under the various forms of loans, requisitions of clothing and provisions, voluntary contributions, subsidies, and the forced circulation of assignats.

The treatment of the Batavian troops, in the service of France, was complained of as peculiarly severe and unjust. In battle they were almost constantly placed in situations of the greatest danger; and in the exchange of prisoners their interest was invariably neglected. Thus treated by the confederate army, desertion was frequent among the Batavian

tavian soldiers; but the government was obliged to supply with new recruits the diminution of their forces, which arose from this cause. The Dutch soldiers were reproached early in the war, by the British and Austrian troops, then their brethren in arms, with shameful cowardice or treachery, and the same accusations pursued them when they were united to the legions of France.

In 1799 the Batavian republic seems to have reached its lowest ebb of depression. The people, worn out with the repeated exactions of the French, the destruction of their commerce, the loss of their colonies, and the arbitrary acts of the government, became impatient of a change in the system of affairs, and the discontents that reigned throughout the republic assumed a haughty and menacing tone. The condition of Holland under the administration of the stadtholder was invidiously compared with its degraded and abject situation under the directorial government, and exposed to the rapacity of France.

The stadtholderian party, probably blinded by their passions, mistook these discontents and murmurs for a general inclination in the people to re-establish the old form of government, provided such foreign assistance could be furnished them, as would enable them to expel the French from the territories of the republic ; and thus over-rating their strength and abilities, strong representations were made to England of the expediency of sending into Holland a sufficient force to assist the friends of the stadtholder, and exonerate the republic from the bondage of France. The disaffection to the new government, which notoriously prevailed in the marine and military forces of the republic, was placed in the strongest light ; and assurances were held out, if not of their cordial support, of a languid resistance. It was further stated, that the number of French troops in Holland was more reduced than it had been at any period since the conquest of the country ; and that the vast armies which the French had to maintain in Italy and Germany, where the fate of the war

was

was dubious, would probably prevent them from sending any considerable reinforcements to their troops in Holland.

These representations, coinciding with the inclinations of the British government, produced in the autumn of the year an expedition against Holland. The stadtholderian party complained, that the army destined for their deliverance was not embarked until the favourable season for the campaign was past; and a continuance of unfavourable weather for some days after the appearance of the armament off the Texel increased the evils of this delay. A part of the hostile fleet having anchored off the Helder, the point where a landing was meant to take place was disclosed, and the forces destined to oppose the invaders consequently marched towards that point.

It appeared on the landing of the troops, that an erroneous opinion had been formed of the disposition of the Dutch soldiers. They were commanded by General Daendals, an officer of great experience and abilities, whose fidelity to the new government was
guaranteed

guaranteed by a large share of animosity against the British nation, and opposed the disembarkation of the hostile forces with the greatest courage and resolution. At length, pressed by superior numbers, they retreated, but not before they had made a most gallant resistance, and given the English a severe foretaste of the determined opposition which they had to expect from the Batavian army.

If the stadtholderian party had been too sanguine in their expectations from the Dutch army, it appears that they had formed a true judgment of the disposition of the navy. On the defeat of the forces which opposed the landing of the English, strong symptoms of mutiny and insubordination broke out in the Dutch fleet. This tendency to revolt, it is firmly believed in Holland, might have been checked, had the commander-in-chief and some of the principal officers of the fleet been faithful to their duty, but they are supposed to have been gained over to the stadtholderian party; and the disgraceful surrender of the fleet was the consequence of their treachery. The justification of
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himself, which Admiral Story addressed to the Batavian directory, if what was advanced in it was to be relied on as fact, clearly exculpated him; but the contrary opinion is entertained in Holland, and it is not probable that he will ever again be employed.

On their first successes, and the surrender of the fleet, it was expected that the English army would have advanced rapidly into the country. There was no force sufficient to oppose them, and multitudes of disaffected individuals were preparing to join them.

Though the majority of the inhabitants of Amsterdam were inclined to support the new government, it contained a powerful party, daily receiving accessions of strength from the provinces, in favour of the stadtholder, which only waited for the nearer approach of the British army to declare themselves. So confidently were the English expected in Amsterdam, and a counter-revolution to take place throughout Holland, that the members of the directory were prepared to quit the Hague. But with a supineness
which

which is most loudly condemned by their friends in Holland, the leaders of the British army, instead of profiting by the consternation which their first success and the treason of the fleet occasioned, remained in a state of cautious, if not timid, inactivity, till the season for rapid operations was elapsed.

The number of stadtholderians who had joined the British army, exclusive of those from the fleet, was inconsiderable; but this was accounted for by the circumstance, that the part of Holland which was occupied by the English was the district most averse, within the limits of the republic, to the authority of the house of Orange. In the southern parts of Holland, towards the mouth of the Maese, where the stadtholderian party wished the invasion to have been made, the friends of the old government were much more numerous. It cannot, however, be doubted, but that many would have joined the army had it advanced far enough to have enabled them to do so with security and confidence; and in the
persons

persons so disposed its inactivity excited mingled emotions of indignation and sorrow. Speaking of this period of the campaign in Holland, a French general said to me, "*C'étoit par la sottise des généraux Anglais que l'Amsterdam n'étoit pas pris.*" This, however, he qualified by adding, that had Amsterdam been taken, the French inevitably must soon have become masters of it again. The delay of the British army afforded time to the French to collect their forces; and about the period that the Duke of York arrived with a reinforcement of English and Russian troops, General Brune, with a large body of French auxiliaries, took the command of the Gallo-Batavian army.

The hereditary Prince of Orange arrived in the army about the same time with the Duke of York, and, probably elated with the success that had been obtained, addressed a proclamation to the Dutch people, couched in terms scarcely less peremptory than might have been used had the Orange colours been flying on the stadthouse of Amsterdam.

Amsterdam. It formed a striking contrast with the proclamations published by the representatives of the French people four years before. But where power is unlimited, moderation is more frequently to be found, than where weakness predominates, unless power is lodged in the hands of Alvas or Philips.

After a series of bloody and well-contested actions, the British and Russian forces obtained possession of Alkmaer, and the hopes of the friends of the house of Orange, which the tardy movements of the army had damp't, began to revive. The citizens of Amsterdam, attached to the new order of things, again trembled for the security of the capital, and, throughout the republic, the partisans of the stadtholder were filled with the most extravagant joy.

But these sentiments of depression on the one hand, and of exultation on the other, were of no long duration. After a desperate engagement, in which the British forces were victorious, but with great loss, it was judged necessary by the commander-in-chief for the army to retreat.

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So unexpected was such a measure by General Brune, and, in consequence of his defeat, believing that further offensive operations would immediately be pursued by the English, that, designing himself to retreat, he had sent his baggage, with part of his artillery, across the Y.

Favoured by the obscurity of a tempestuous night, and the enemy's ignorance of their design, the retreat of the British army was effected with little loss. By day-light in the morning they were at a distance of thirty miles from the French forces, and in a position of considerable strength, where they had formerly been established. It was now determined that the British and Russian troops should evacuate Holland; and to accomplish this without further effusion of blood, a negociation was entered into by the Duke of York with General Brune.

The conditions at first proposed by the French general, on which the Duke of York's army should be permitted to re-embark without molestation, were so exorbitant, as to be instantly rejected. Brune required that
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the Dutch fleet should be restored, and fifteen thousand French and Batavian prisoners released, without conditions, from the prisons of England. The demand of the restitution of the fleet was soon abandoned, though the Batavian directory, in their instructions to General Brune, insisted that the restitution of the fleet should form the leading article in any convention that might be concluded by him with the Duke of York; and the number of prisoners required to be released without exchange, was reduced to eight thousand. The other articles of the convention stipulated, that the British and Russian forces should quit the territories of the Batavian republic before the 30th of November, and that no injury should be done to the dikes, canals, or navigation of the Texel.

The easy terms on which the British and Russian troops were permitted to evacuate Holland were loudly complained of by the Batavian directory, and strong insinuations against the integrity of General Brune were circulated throughout the republic by the party inimical to the English. These suspi-
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cions were countenanced by the known character of the general for rapacity, and the belief that he had obtained the command of the French army in Holland by corruption, consequently would not scruple to reimburse himself by the most nefarious means. But most probably the strength of the British army, the means of defence which it possessed, and perhaps a humane desire to prevent a further waste of human life, were the real motives that induced General Brune to grant the terms alluded to.

The French who served against the English during this campaign speak in the highest terms of the bravery of the British soldiers; but their report of the generals is less favourable. There is one exception, however, to this. The conduct of Prince William of Gloucester excited particular admiration in the French; and he is mentioned with much respect and praise, as a general who will one day be an honour to the British nation, if the early proofs which he has given of his courage and military ta-

lents are to be relied on as prognostics of the future.

The treatment of the British and Russian troops who were taken prisoners, was singularly humane and generous. A party of women and children, belonging to the English army, having fallen into the hands of the enemy, they were sent to Amsterdam; a collection was made in that city for their relief; and after having been hospitably entertained for some days, they were restored to their husbands and fathers, all of them comfortably furnished by the benevolence of the enemy with new clothing.

The conduct and discipline of the British army, while they remained in Holland, gave great satisfaction to the peaceful, inoffensive inhabitants of the parts where hostilities had been carried on. Every article taken for the use of the troops was paid for with the utmost regularity and punctuality; and where unavoidable damage was done to the property of individuals, for purposes of defence or attack, compensation was liberally made.

But

But a less honourable warfare was waged by the navy. A flotilla of gun-boats and small vessels; inadequate to any splendid or useful conquests, coasted the shores of the Zuider Zee, destroying fishing smacks, and firing on the miserable villages that did not display the Orange flag. Where, through fear, they were received as friends, their business was to dismiss the petty municipalities, cut down the trees of liberty, and distribute Orange cockades to all who chose to accept of them. On their departure, the former order of things were invariably re-established; and thus frequently in the course of a few hours a village was revolutionised, and counter-revolutionised; with the most perfect indifference on the part of its inhabitants.

Had the expedition against Holland been attempted at an earlier period of the year, or had the army advanced after its first successes, before the French and Dutch had time to concentrate their forces, it is highly probable that possession might have been gained of Amsterdam, and a great part of the republic reduced to obedience to the stadtholder. But

perhaps it was fortunate for humanity that the campaign terminated otherwise. Had Amsterdam been taken, and the stadtholder restored to his offices, the patriots and the French would still have remained in possession of the frontier places of the republic, from whence no force that the house of Orange could have raised, or the English supplied, would have expelled them; and France, rather than permit so important a conquest as Holland to be wrested from her hands, would, from these commanding points, have poured innumerable and irresistible bodies of troops into the country. The British army might again, at an inclement season of the year, have been obliged to make a disastrous retreat, through a dreary and inhospitable country, with an active and vigilant enemy in their rear, and the Prince of Orange might again have been compelled to seek his personal safety in a precipitate flight from his government.

The complete failure of the expedition, undertaken at their suggestion, and for their relief, extinguished the last hopes of the stadtholderian

stadtholderian party, and firmly established the power of the new government. The repulse of a powerful army of invaders, exalted the spirit of the nation, and the murmurs of discontent against the directory and the legislatures were lost in the shouts of triumph that resounded throughout the republic.

LETTER XVII.

Commerce of Amsterdam.—Number of ships dismantled.—The Dutch East-India Company.—Account of Colonel Gordon, governor of the Cape of Good Hope.—Intercourse with Batavia by means of American vessels.—The sentiments entertained in Holland respecting Bonaparte.—Some account of that great man.—Madame Bonaparte.—Assurances of the First Consul of the French republic to the Batavian government.—Last requisition made by the French to the Dutch.—Estimate of the contributions levied in Holland by the French.—Measures to be pursued by the Dutch at the conclusion of the war.

Amsterdam, 1800.

THE mighty commerce which Amsterdam, in former periods, carried on with all the quarters of the globe, is now, by the inauspicious circumstances of the times, reduced to a petty inland traffic, and an inconsiderable

considerable trade with foreign parts by the means of neutral vessels. The immense number of dismantled ships with which the harbour is crowded bespeaks the former commercial prosperity of Amsterdam, and its present impoverished state. The greater part of the ships are in the worst condition imaginable, and would, were peace to bid the commerce of Holland revive, be found unfit for the purposes of navigation. I perceived that the small vessels were generally in a more disabled and decayed condition than the large ones; probably from the circumstance that their owners, persons in the middle walks of life, had suffered more by the war than the wealthier classes concerned in shipping, and consequently were unable to be at sufficient expence for the preservation of their property.

At an early period of the revolution, the circumstances of the Dutch East-India Company, the greatest commercial institution in the United Provinces, underwent a rigorous investigation. The stadtholder, by virtue of an agreement made in 1787, was go-

vernor of this company, and enjoyed, in consequence of his situation, the lucrative patronage of many valuable offices. In the disposal of the offices in his gift, it appeared that the stadtholder, or his ministers, had not often consulted the interests of the company ; and the subsequent loss of the Dutch settlements in the East, which fell an easy prey to the English, was attributed in a great measure to the treachery or lukewarmness of the persons appointed to high situations of confidence and trust in the colonies by the Prince of Orange.

The honour of Colonel Gordon, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope at the time of its capture, is, however, unimpeached, and his memory is cherished with sentiments of esteem and regret. He was unfortunate, but not culpable. Having made an unskilful disposition of his forces, they were repulsed by the invading army, and he was obliged to surrender the colony entrusted to his command. A fine sense of feeling, honourable to his heart as a soldier, prevented him from surviving this misfortune,

tune, and after he had reluctantly consented to the capitulation, he put a period to his existence with a pistol. His death atoned for his mistake, and Gordon may rank with the commandants of Longwi and Verdun.

The finances of the East-India Company were found in a disordered state, and it had contracted a heavy debt with the bank of Amsterdam. Corruption and disorder prevailed in the settlements abroad, and neglect and abuses in all the departments at home. A multiplicity of useless offices had been created for the purpose of pensioning the friends of the stadtholder, and of the expenditure of large sums no reasonable account could be given.

But the extensive warehouses of the company were full of the precious commodities of the East; and the people had the satisfaction to learn, that should their intercourse with India be suspended for seven years, there would still remain in the store-houses of the company an ample provision of the spices and drugs of Asia. An intercourse is kept up with the settlement of Batavia, chiefly through

through the means of American vessels, three or four of which arrive annually at Amsterdam laden with the produce of that colony; and notwithstanding it is probable it will be attacked by the English, the Dutch do not appear to entertain any fears for the safety of this, their most valuable establishment in India. The loss of their other colonies and islands affects **them** more for the disgrace which their capture has brought on the Dutch arms, than for any essential injury which the nation has thereby sustained. The superiority of the English at sea must of necessity have suspended their intercourse with these foreign possessions; and they believe with great confidence, that whenever peace is concluded, their colonies, without exception, will be restored.

The late revolution of France, which has placed at the head of the government of that country one of the greatest generals, one of the most profound statesmen and enlightened legislators, that the world ever saw, is regarded in Holland as an event singularly fortunate for the republic. The character
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of Bonaparte is considered in Holland with the highest sentiments of veneration and attachment. His military talents, the moderate use he has invariably made of victory, the clemency of his disposition, his sincere endeavours to restore peace to Europe, and his munificent encouragement of arts and sciences, are subjects of loud and general panegyric. The pictures and busts of this great man that are exhibited for sale in Holland are innumerable; and from the avidity of the people to possess likenesses of so distinguished a character, they are readily disposed of. At every table where toasts are given, the health of Bonaparte is always enthusiastically drank; and at French tables, the health of the first consul of the republic is constantly given in the same manner as that of the king is in England.

I had the happiness to meet with more than one person who was well acquainted with Bonaparte, and had seen him since his elevation to the first magistracy of the French republic. The exalted situation which he fills has scarcely produced any
change

change in his character or manners. He is, as formerly, reserved with strangers, but affable, condescending, and familiar, with his friends. When a person with whom he is acquainted is admitted to an audience with him, it is usual for the consul to walk up and down the room, holding with the engaging ease of friendship or personal kindness the arm or sleeve of the man with whom he converses. His memory is so uncommonly retentive, that he minutely remembers places, times, and circumstances, however obscure or remote; and when reviewing the troops, he frequently notices, with expressions of commendation, individuals in the ranks who, at different periods of the war, have served under him and distinguished themselves. To be noticed by the consul is a distinction highly flattering to a French soldier, and particularly as this approbation always proceeds from a clear and distinct recollection of the actions which give birth to it. Bonaparte is equally beloved by the soldiers and officers of the army; and between the two there exists a
kind

kind of emulation which shall shew him the strongest marks of affection and attachment. I never heard him spoken of by a French officer but in terms of almost idolatrous admiration, and the same sentiments pervade the lowest ranks of the army.

In private life, Bonaparte is represented to be temperate, regular, and abstemious: indulging in no expensive pleasures, and sternly discountenancing all irregularity of manners. I was curious to know what were his religious opinions, if any; and the idea I found which generally prevailed on this subject was, that the existence of a Supreme Being was a belief firmly established on his mind.

Madame Bonaparte is spoken of as a woman of uncommonly vigorous powers of mind, and most amiable manners. Her taste for, and patronage of, the fine arts are equally to be commended, and indigent merit of every kind finds in her a liberal benefactress. She does not want the disposition for intriguing in state affairs, which under the old government distinguished the ladies of
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the French court; but wherever her influence is thought to be exerted, it is for the prosperity of the nation, and the glory of the hero to whom she has the happiness to be allied. She is less beautiful than Madame Tallien, who continues to enjoy the admiration of Paris, and past the period of life for having children, but nevertheless a woman of great personal charms. Her daughters by a former marriage are represented as some of the most beautiful and graceful women in France.

When Bonaparte officially notified to the Batavian government his elevation to the first consulship of the French republic, he repeated the assurances made by the preceding rulers of France, that the independence of Holland should at all times be an object of the peculiar care of the French nation; and it was afterwards communicated to the directory, that the interests of the Batavian republic would be faithfully attended to, in any negotiations that might be carried on between the governments of France and Great Britain.

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Since Bonaparte's accession to the government of France, the Dutch have been less harassed than formerly with contributions and exactions. A loan was indeed attempted to be negotiated at Amsterdam in favour of France, but without the success that was expected. It did not entirely fail, but only an inconsiderable sum was subscribed. The last requisition made to the Dutch was for a quantity of cheese and butter, for the use of the French fleet at Toulon; and five large swift-sailing cutters, laden with these commodities, for the above-mentioned destination, sailed from the Maese on the day that we entered that river. Other vessels of a similar construction, and with the same cargoes, had put to sea a few days before.

The amount of the contributions, under various forms, levied by the French on the Dutch, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. A merchant of the greatest respectability, whose accuracy and information I have every reason to confide in, con-

versing

versing with me on the subject, estimated his losses from the French, in the various ways of requisitions, loans, *voluntary* contributions, the expence of keeping, or furnishing quarters for soldiers, and other items too long for enumeration, at five-and-forty per cent on his capital. The circumstances of his traffic perhaps made the quota of his contributions heavier than was felt by the generality of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and this he admitted himself; but he contended, that the general loss sustained by Holland from the French could not be far short of forty per cent on the whole capital of the country. The amount of the losses sustained by the republic from other causes, he could not pretend to ascertain. He urged with great plausibility, that England had suffered an equal, if not a more serious diminution of its capital, from the enormous debt incurred by the war, and the profligate expenditure of its ministers. No opinion prevails in Holland more generally than that, whenever peace is restored to Europe,

Europe, a national bankruptcy will take place in Great Britain; and this persuasion is so firmly established, that many of the Dutch who have property in the English funds, account it of no more value than their French assignats.

I shall now conclude my remarks on the revolution of Holland, with a short detail of the probable future state of the country, according to the ideas of well-informed persons in it, whenever a general peace shall take place.

Greatly as the Dutch nation has suffered by the war, as well before as since its conquests by the French, its condition is not yet desperate, or its salvation hopeless. Its opulence is wasted, but the sources from whence that opulence was derived, though impoverished, are not dried up. The heavy calamities that have fallen on Holland, have in some degree produced a beneficial effect; they have opened the eyes of the nation to a true sense of its condition, and obliged the people to the exercise of those virtues—frugality, temperance, and simplicity of manners—

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which

which formerly contributed so largely to the prosperity of the republic.

By the overthrow of the old government, the nation is exonerated from a vast mass of corruption, feebleness, and abuses; and however defective the present system may be, it is, for most useful purposes, less faulty than the subverted constitution. The abolition of the aristocracy of Holland, though that body was neither numerous nor powerful, ought to be regarded as an event fortunate for the republic; and still more must its deliverance from the authority of the stadholder, as it was increased and established in 1787, be considered as a change favourable to the interests of Holland.

At no distant period, the faults of the present government of Holland may be obviated, and a salutary system established; which shall conduct the republic to its former prosperity and greatness. The principal objection to the present system is, that the commercial part of the republic has not an influence, in the deliberations and proceedings of the legislature, equal to its importance.

portance. Were peace to be restored, this evil, unless speedily remedied, would produce the most mischievous consequences.

To restore the commerce of Holland, encouragement must be given to the old mercantile system and interest: the rich capitalists of the country, who have emigrated in consequence of the revolution, must be invited and allured to return; and the great trading companies of Amsterdam, and the other cities of the republic, must be re-established with all their former immunities and privileges. This is contrary to the system recommended by eminent writers in France and England, who contend for free trade, and disclaim against exclusive privileges, but by such a system alone can the commerce of Holland be revived.

Should the wise policy be pursued, of placing the commerce of the republic, as far as possible, on its former footing, the industry, frugality, and unwearied perseverance, of the Dutch nation, will, in a few years of tranquillity, with such encouragement as a legislature well versed in mer-

cantile affairs may further bestow, not only recover from its misfortunes, but probably arrive at a state of opulence, little inferior to the most flourishing days of the republic.

LETTER XVIII.

Climate of Amsterdam.—Dutch physiognomies.—The village of Broek.—Custom of having two doors to each house in North Holland.—Carvings over the doors.—The houses and gardens of Broek.—Extreme cleanliness of its streets.—Phlegm of the inhabitants of Broek.—Saardam.—Number of windmills.—Decay of trade.—House where Peter the Great resided.—A funeral.—Departure from Amsterdam.—The canal from Amsterdam to Utrecht.—Utrecht.—Its surrender to Lewis XIV. in 1672, and to the Prussians in 1787.—The university of Utrecht.—Nimeguen.—Return to Rotterdam.—Departure for England.—Detention at Maastrandsluys.

Maastrandsluys, December, 1800.

THE atmosphere of Amsterdam, from its marshy situation, is at all periods of the year loaded with humid vapours ; and I believe we had not the good fortune, during a re-

sidence of about a week in that city, to catch one glimpse of the sun. I will not venture to hazard any conjecture what effect the air has on the inhabitants of the place, but for the most part they are a dull and heavy-looking race, with countenances full of cares and concerns of business. I must, however, observe here, that I have not seen in Holland one Dutch face which had the least expression of that despicable quality, cunning, in it, either on the Exchange, in shops, or in the streets; and, on the contrary, I do not think I ever saw a shopkeeper in England, on whose countenance that quality was not most legibly written. A Dutchman's countenance, whatever his avocations may be, is honest, frank, and candid; and the only expression which ever appears in it that is displeasing, is an expression of caution which borders on suspicion. Most Dutch merchants, from education, example, and habit, are tainted more or less with the vice of avarice, or rather a strong passion for accumulation; but, I believe, the merchants of no nation in the world are more to be
praised

praised for their scrupulous honesty and inflexible integrity; and let me add too, for their patriotism, public spirit, and munificence. What city in Europe can boast of charitable foundations more splendidly endowed than those of Amsterdam? Its institution * for the increase of knowledge and the encouragement of the fine arts is yet in its infancy, but its utility has already been proved, and in a few years it may vie with the oldest established and most opulent societies in Europe.

During our stay at Amsterdam, we crossed the Y, to visit the pleasant villages of Broek and Saardam in North Holland. The one celebrated for its singular neatness, the other for its mills and extensive yards for the building of ships.

The village of Broek is at the easy distance of six miles from Amsterdam, and inhabited chiefly by merchants of overgrown wealth, who, when the hours of business are over,

* The Felix Meritis.

retire from the tumult and confusion of the city, to enjoy the tranquillity of a secluded village. Broek contains about an hundred houses, each of which is decorated and painted with the nicest care. To every house, as is the case throughout North Holland, there are two doors; one of which is never opened but when a corpse or a christening is carried from the house, and the other serves the ordinary purposes of the family. I could not learn the nature of the superstition from whence this custom is supposed to have originated; and I believe it is peculiar to North Holland. To a stranger, there is something solemn in the custom; and we could not help contemplating these doors, opened only for sepulchral rites, or to introduce a new-born infant into the christian community, with a sort of religious awe and respect.

Over some of these doors were carvings, descriptive of the lives of some of the former possessors of the houses. One of these attracted a considerable portion of our notice. It was divided into four compartments. The
first

first described the embarkation of a young man on ship-board, and his relatives on the quay, weeping on account of his departure. The second represented his arrival in a foreign part, where a number of Indians were waiting to receive him. The third described him as a planter, surrounded by his slaves, and the productions of the tropics. The last related the story of his return to his country, advanced in life, and blessed with wealth. The date affixed to it was 1661. Another of these carvings described the history of a shopkeeper's life; and a third, that of a man who had acquired his riches by the whale-fishery.

The houses of Broek are painted with different colours, but chiefly with green and white, and some of them in addition are gilded. They are small, few of them containing more than eight rooms, and none of them above two stories high. Before most of the houses is a small garden, dressed out in a fantastic style with shells, pieces of stained glass, bits of broken china, and the like; and the shrubs and trees are tortured into
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all manner of shapes. In one garden, a tree was cut into the shape of a table, with bottles and glasses on it; another tree was lopped and bent to resemble a ship; and a bed of box-wood described the chace of a hare. This ridiculous taste of horticulture began to prevail in Holland about the time when the Dutch, having shaken off the yoke of the Spaniards, applied themselves almost wholly to commerce, consequently neglected all elegant and agreeable pursuits; and it continues to prevail at Broek in its original style, two centuries old, unaltered and unimproved.

In the streets of Broek, cleanliness seems to have obtained its *ne plus ultra*. They are closely paved with small bricks, the interstices of which are frequently scraped, and not a speck of dirt or blade of grass is any-where to be perceived. No animal is permitted with unhallowed steps to profane the streets of Broek. The dogs and cats of the place are rigorously confined in the houses of their respective owners, and never permitted to breathe abroad the delicious air
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of freedom. Even the birds of the air are chased away from this abode of cleanliness, lest, like the obscene harpies which Virgil tells us of, they should defile with their excrements the streets or the houses.

The virtue of cleanliness is carried in Broek to a painful extreme. I never saw a more joyless, uncomfortable, and melancholy place. The houses and gardens were fit only to amuse the infancy or the dotage of life, to gratify the vanities of childhood, or to give employment to the caprices of old age.

The inhabitants of Broek, even children, partake of the melancholy of the place. We saw a group of boys, of an age when gaiety and playfulness are qualities almost inherent in youth, soberly seated by the side of one of the canals, with countenances as contemplative and sedate as could have been expected in old men; and we passed them without exciting so much of their curiosity, as to make them turn their heads to see which way we went. If any women were at the windows,

windows, they hastily withdrew as we approached ; and if the door of a house was open, it was shut with inhospitable rudeness. Want of curiosity is, I believe, a quality characteristic of the Dutch nation, and it certainly reigns with sovereign dullness in the village of Broek *.

From Broek, we drove in our voiture to Saardam. Part of the road is on the dyke which defends North Holland from the waters of the Y. At different commanding points of this road, there were batteries, mounting three or four large guns, which had been erected the year before, to oppose the progress of the English, had they advanced against Amsterdam. The guns of some of these batteries were removing by Dutch soldiers ; and we were told, that in so secure a state was the country supposed to be, that it was intended the whole should be razed.

* The bark of the tree of liberty at Broek, according to the taste of its inhabitants, is painted with the national colours. It is a young tree, and alive !

In Saardam and its environs there are about two thousand windmills, which at a distance form something like the appearance of a forest. The trade of the place is so greatly impoverished, that scarcely two hundred of these mills were at work, and a large proportion of the number unemployed seemed in a ruinous and decayed condition. The war has most materially affected the prosperity of Saardam, by putting a stop to the navigation of Holland, and consequently to the demand for ships, the construction of which was the principal source of the opulence of Saardam. I did not see a single ship upon the stocks at Saardam, but there were two or three large men-of-war in a wet dock, which I understood had been lately launched, and some frigates were repairing. In the different yards for ship building which we passed, there was a great abundance of excellent timber for the construction of vessels, but very few carpenters were at work in any of the yards. In some of them it did not appear that the least
work

work had been done for a considerable period of time, and rank grass was growing on many of the spots where mighty fleets had been created.

We visited the hut where Peter the Great of Russia resided, when, to acquire a practical knowledge in the art of ship-building, he laid aside his imperial dignity, and worked for some time as a common carpenter in the dock-yards and naval arsenals of Saardam. The cottage in which this prince lived is one of the meanest in the town, and without other accommodations than what might have suited the circumstances of the humblest mechanic. The hut was full of children, and abominably dirty, a fault that is not to be charged on the generality of Dutch cottages. A nitche was shewn us in the room which contained the emperor's bed, an execrable engraving of him by a French artist, and a copper coin on which his head was impressed. The woman of the house also shewed us two wine-glasses, which were given her some years ago by the present Emperor of Russia, then the Archduke Paul,

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when he visited the hut where his ancestor resided : a singular present for a young prince on such an occasion !

A funeral was performing in the churchyard of Saardam as we passed, and we stopt to observe the ceremony. It was the interment of an indigent person, and the obsequies were performed without the assistance of a priest. The coffin was of plain fir, unvarnished and unornamented, and the grave in which it was deposited was a large hole, containing about a dozen coffins, and capable of receiving perhaps as many more. After the corpse was put into this populous grave, it was covered with boards, and the mourners departed. The frugality of the Dutch is scarcely more remarkable in any thing, than the economy of their funerals. A person would be despised by his neighbours as a profligate spendthrift who should bestow on a deceased relation a magnificent interment, and there are sumptuary laws against expensive burials. Prayers at the grave, or the tolling of a bell, are considered as idle superstitions,

stitutions, nor do female mourners ever attend these last sad offices of humanity, to weep with decent and pious sorrow over the remains of their departed friends.

The day after our return from our excursion to Broek and Saardam, we took our leave, probably for ever, of the capital of Holland.—Let me here perform the promise which I made to the good mistress of our hotel, that on my return to England I would speak of her house in the terms which I thought it deserved.—The civilities and highly useful attentions of Mrs. Oosterlinck during our stay in Amsterdam, entitle her to my most respectful acknowledgements ; and I can safely recommend her hotel, the Doele, on the Cingel, as one of the most pleasant and agreeable houses of accommodation to be met with in Holland. The Cingel is one of the principal streets in Amsterdam, and near the centre of the town. It may not be improper to add, that our charges at the Doele were extremely reasonable ; a full third less, I am satisfied, than, under similar circumstances,

circumstances, we should have paid in England.

We travelled from Amsterdam to Utrecht in treckschuyts, and were so fortunate on our passage as to obtain in all the boats places in the roof. Our journey occupied about nine hours, and we arrived at Utrecht much fatigued and exhausted. On each side of the canal, from Amsterdam to Utrecht, there is, with little intermission, a continuation of pleasant houses, country seats, and gardens adorned, in the Dutch taste, with grotesque temples, statues, stagnate pools, Chinese bridges, and trees planted in a straight line, or tortured into a thousand shapes. The country through which we passed seemed extremely populous and well cultivated; and there was less water on the lands than we had observed elsewhere, not because it was higher, but because the mills for pumping it off into the canals are more numerous, and serve better to drain the land.

Utrecht is one of the most agreeable cities in the Batavian republic, and somewhat larger than the Hague. On account of the

pleasantness of its situation, and the imagined or real salubrity of the air, Utrecht is chosen by many persons who have made a fortune by commerce, and have the good sense, in the evening of their lives, to quit the bustle of trade for the tranquil pleasures of retirement, as the place of their retreat. A more eligible one could scarcely be chosen.

The streets of Utrecht are large and spacious, and the same cleanliness reigns in the town which distinguishes the most favoured cities of Holland. It was formerly a post of considerable military strength and importance; but, happily for its inhabitants, its fortifications are no longer in a condition to provoke or resist the attack of the enemy. In 1672 it surrendered to Lewis the Fourteenth without opposition, and for upwards of a year Utrecht was the theatre of the triumphs of that magnificent monarch. He commanded his soldiers to spare the beautiful mall, which extends near a mile from the town, shaded with three rows of trees, and his clemency was celebrated by the venal poets of times; but for this moderation,

deration, or act of forbearance, he levied a contribution of two hundred thousand pounds on the inhabitants of the place.

In 1787 Utrecht surrendered to the arms of Prussia without making any resistance, though the regular forces in the town amounted to seven thousand men, and its inhabitants were animated with the most violent animosity against the Prince of Orange, whose cause the Prussian army supported. On this occasion, treachery was imputed to the governor, the rhingrave of Salm; for though it was not supposed that the town could have held out long against the Prussian forces, it was contended that, with the strength which it contained, and the disposition of the inhabitants, it was base and cowardly to surrender the place without some opposition. The character of the prince who commanded the garrison justified the suspicions of his treachery.

On the approach of the French army in 1795, the city of Utrecht threw open its gates, and the republican troops were received as friends and deliverers. No-where

throughout the United Provinces was the disposition of the people more favourable to the French than that at Utrecht; and, notwithstanding the severe impositions that have been laid on them, the inhabitants of the place still continue to entertain the strongest attachment to France.

The university of Utrecht has suffered more by the war than that of Leyden, and scarcely contains at present fifty students. It has at all periods, I believe, been inferior to the celebrated academy of the latter city, whether for the learning and reputation of its professors, the number of students which they attracted, or the assistance afforded to pupils by public libraries, botanical gardens, or anatomical preparations. As people are led by their partialities in favour of certain opinions, the university of Utrecht is censured or praised for its attachment to, and cultivation of, French principles; while, on the contrary, though early in the new order of things a deputation of students congratulated the provisional representatives of Holland on the revolution in the government
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that had happily taken place, the university of Leyden is supposed strongly to favour the old system.

Before we left Rotterdam, our friend General Chorié expected daily to be appointed to the command of Nimeguen, and we then promised him that we would extend our tour to that fortress, in order that we might have the pleasure of seeing him again, before we quitted the Batavian republic. At Utrecht I found, from the advanced period of the season and other circumstances, that ——— could not make the excursion without considerable inconvenience, and therefore, leaving her at the *Château d'Anvers*, I took a seat in the post chariot for Nimeguen. My companions were a French officer and his lady, and their politeness and agreeable conversation beguiled the tediousness of the journey.

On my arrival at Nimeguen, I was greatly disappointed to find, that the appointment of General Chorié to the command of that fortress had not yet been confirmed, and consequently the pleasure which I promised

myself from meeting with a person to whose civilities and attentions I was so deeply indebted, was prevented.

Every part of Nimeguen exhibits the melancholy effects of the late siege. Houses destroyed and rebuilt, public edifices in ruins, trees shattered, and the pavement of the streets torn up to prevent the rebounding of balls and shells, and yet unreplaced. The fortifications of Nimeguen, at the time when it was attacked, were in good condition; the Dutch garrison in the town was strong, and an army of thirty thousand English lay encamped on the other side of the Waal, from whence, by means of a flying bridge, they could throw succours into the town. It was therefore expected to sustain a siege of considerable length, if not to disappoint the views of the assailants. Besides its ordinary fortifications, it was strengthened with additional outworks, and its garrison was composed of the flower of the Dutch army.—But all its means of defence were ineffectual against the ardour of the besieging army. After Nimeguen had been bombarded

barded some days, preparations were made by the French for a general assault. These measures alarmed the English, and they withdrew their forces from the town. The Dutch troops would have followed them, but the bridge was broken down by the enemy's artillery, and being too weak for resistance now that they were deserted by their allies, they were obliged to surrender to the French without conditions. The town was indeed taken by assault, but the humanity of General Souham, who commanded the French, preserved the garrison and inhabitants of the place from the exercise of those severities which the usage of war authorises in towns that are taken by storm.

The inhabitants of Nimeguen discourse of this calamitous period with the most vivid emotions, and a general air of melancholy and dejection reigns throughout the place. Beggars are numerous, and many of them appear as if they had enjoyed happier days.

The French garrison in Nimeguen consisted of about eight hundred men, most of whom had received wounds in the ser-

vice. Were the fortrefs to be befieged, it would require a force of between fix and feven thoufand men to defend the works; but happily fuch an event is improbable. The fortifications of Nimeguen have been repaired fince the fieve, and are in a good condition; but the out-works are deftroyed, and the cultivated garden now fmiles where the hideous battery appeared. Nimeguen is one of the principal depots of the ftores of the French army in the Batavian republic; and probably will continue, though a general peace fhould be made, and by the treaty between the two republics it is then to be reftored to the Dutch, to be garrifoned by French troops.

Disappointed of feeing General Chorié, I ftopt but a fingle day at Nimeguen, and returned to Utrecht by night. We quitted that city early in the morning in a treckfchuyt, and arrived in the evening at Rotterdam.

Our wifhes now anxiously turned towards England. Our tour had been productive of much pleafure, and we continued to experience at Rotterdam the fame hofpitable treatment

ment that we had before met with ; but the objects of curiosity to interest us being diminished, the desire of returning home almost entirely possessed our thoughts. Unterrified with the prospect of encountering the turbulence and dangers of the North Sea at an advanced period of the year, — preferred that we should sail for London in some vessel from Rotterdam, rather than return by the route of Calais, as we once proposed and intended; and a sloop belonging to Mr. —— being on the eve of departure, we agreed for our passage on board of it.—From this gentleman and Mrs. —— we received during our stay in Rotterdam attentions and civilities which can never be effaced from our minds.

The accommodations of our vessel (which sails under the Prussian flag, but is English property) are much on a par with those of the sloop in which we were captured ; but the captain and his crew, Prussians or Dutch, cultivate the virtue of cleanliness out of comparison more carefully than our English captain and his sailors did.

Change of wind obliged our vessel to come
to

to anchor off Maastrandfluys, and the same cause has detained us some days. Our time has been agreeably employed. The short distance between the Briel and Maastrandfluys, has afforded us an opportunity of renewing our intercourse with Commodore ——— and Captain ———. The better we are acquainted with these excellent persons, the more reason we have to love and admire them. Generous, brave, and benevolent men! may they long live, an honour and a defence to their country, an ornament and examples to humanity! May they live to see, and long enjoy, the full completion of their patriotic wishes—to see the commerce of their country revive, and its independence and liberty established on a sure and solid basis!—the extinction of party feuds and violence, and the restoration of domestic harmony and tranquillity to the bosom of their native land!.....

Whatever changes the revolution may have produced in the manners and habits of the Dutch, I am persuaded that there remains in the nation a rich fund of *old* Batavian

vian virtue, integrity, and honour: that the genuine principles of liberty are nowhere better understood, or more fervently admired, though, by the unhappy circumstances of the times, perverted or neglected: that no-where are the domestic and social duties of life more sedulously cultivated.—May the exercise of these virtues speedily be encouraged by the restoration of peace!

APPENDIX.

A.

Proclamation of the Representatives of the French Nation to the People of Batavia. Amsterdam, 1st of Pluviose (January 20), 1795, the third Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE representatives of the French nation with the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Maese, to the people of Batavia.

The tyrants who have combined against the freedom of nations, declared war against us, and threatened to conquer and subjugate us.

The treacherous stadtholder, having reduced your government under his power, entered into the base confederacy formed by tyrants, to force a great people to submit to the yoke of slavery.

Your blood, your treasures, were lavished for this; but the success of our arms has made manifest the justice of our cause, and our all-conquering armies have entered into your country.

Batavians!

Batavians ! we know you too well to imagine you would be accomplices in so abominable a conspiracy. Our enemies are also yours. The blood of the founders of the United Netherlands still flows in your veins ; and in the midst of the confusion of war we consider you as our friends and allies. It is under this name that we enter your country. We seek not to terrify, but to inspire you with confidence. It is but a few years since a tyrannic conqueror prescribed you laws ; we have abolished them, and restore you to freedom.

We come not to make you slaves ; the French nation shall preserve to you your independence.

The armies of the republic shall observe the strictest military discipline.

All crimes and civil offences, of citizens against citizens, shall be punished with the most rigid justice.

Personal safety shall be secured, and property protected.

The freedom of religious worship shall suffer no restraint.

The laws and customs of the country shall be, provisionally, maintained.

The people of Batavia, exercising that sovereignty which is their right, shall alone possess
the

the power to alter or modify the form of their government.

GILLET,
BELLEGARDE,
J. B. LACOSTE,
JOUBERT,
PORTIEZ de L'OISE.

B.

Speech of P. Paulus, President of the Assembly of the Provisional Representatives of the free People of Holland, at the Opening of its Sitings, Jan. 27th, 1795.

BEHOLD, citizens, at length the grand basis of your liberty founded, and the aristocratic edifice of your ancient government overthrown. Doubtless this basis will prove durable, having been fixed by the express will, and under the supreme direction, of the Almighty, whose all-powerful hand has been so manifest in the events which have lately happened to us. During one of the most glorious campaigns of which the annals of the world speak, the French army had already approached our frontier, when the natural force of our country, its rivers, its waters

waters of every kind, appeared to retard in some degree, and during a certain period, their progress ;—for experience has shewn, that nothing can resist the courage, the activity, and the indefatigable perseverance, of the French nation ; and that frontier towns, fortresses, and strong holds of every kind, fall before their zeal and inconceivable efforts ;—but at a moment, however, when it was least expected, and when the campaign was thought to be at an end, a frost, the most intense which almost ever was known, transformed at once our rivers, our canals, and our inundation, into roads and bridges, and what was esteemed in former times the strength of our country, and the security of our government, became the means of accelerating the progress of the arms of a nation which has solemnly and publicly declared, that they regard us not as enemies, but as brethren and allies. This striking event ought to lead us to contemplate with respectful admiration the adorable ways of the Almighty, who, when the prospect of the freedom of our country was otherwise distant and uncertain, thus saved the effusion of so much blood, and snatched so many cities and countries from destruction.

Let us, our hearts being filled with gratitude,
render

render thanks to God for this wonderful interference of his Providence ; and since our liberty has so manifestly been founded by his will, let us keep his divine example before our eyes, and with all humility endeavour to make it the object of our imitation. Let justice, equity, and humanity, be the beginning and the end of all our actions and resolutions ; and, laying aside all hatreds, all spirit of party, and of vengeance for former wrongs, let us remember that it was he who taught us to bless those who curse us.

Then will a blessing attend our labours ; then and then alone will union spring up among us ;—union, without which we have seen this country cannot exist, but with the aid of which we have a bright example in our annals that we are invincible.

Then tranquillity and calm will reign in every breast ; and the foundation being thus happily laid, the edifice of our liberty will be gradually reared, amid the influence of virtue, of reason, and of philosophy.

When the sovereignty of the people shall have been acknowledged ; when the inalienable rights of man, without distinction of religious or political opinions, shall have been solemnly declared ; we may expect that peace, liberty,
and

and security, which have so long been banished from our land, will again take up their abode with us, and form the source of our common felicity.

It is for these most desirable ends that I offer up my prayers to the Almighty, that he may grant us his divine blessing; that he may afford us all, and particularly to me whom this assembly has favoured with such a mark of its confidence, his paternal assistance; and that he may turn the efforts which we are about to make to the happiness of a people so long outraged, influenced, and oppressed.

C.

BANK OF AMSTERDAM.

Gazette Extraordinary of Amsterdam, Feb. 5, 1795.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THE provisional representatives of the people of Amsterdam, deeming it of the last importance to the commerce of this city that the public should be informed of the state of its bank, styled the Bank of Exchange, and that the credit of the said bank should not be im-

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peached,

peached, or suffer any diminution by erroneous opinions, by artful insinuations, or by the first false impressions which rumours circulated relating to it might occasion, have deemed it advisable, and have resolved to declare by this present writing, that according to the reports made on this subject by the committee of commerce and marine, duly authorised by the provisional representatives to examine into the state of the said bank, it appeared, that if the information given by the clerks in the bank, in answer to the enquiries of the committee, and if the balance last struck, are correct, which ultimately will be minutely examined, *no deficiency whatever will exist in the said bank*, and the debits and credits will precisely balance, with this exception, that, *instead of specie*, there have been received into the said bank from time to time, as securities for large sums advanced by it within the last fifty years, a very considerable number of *bonds*, viz.

Seventy bonds of the India company of Amsterdam, guaranteed by the states of that province, being each for 100,000 florins *banco*, at three per cent interest; besides a similar one of 50,000 *banco*; on which there will be due, according to the calculation of the said clerks,
the

the sum of 249,000 florins *banco*, for interest. On account of which bonds, the treasurer of the said city is debited in the aforesaid balance 6,273,000 florins *banco*.

Besides these, there are fifty bonds, each for 24,000 florins, on account of the provinces of Holland and West Friesland, belonging to the loan-office of this city, on which, according to the information of the clerks, the bank has advanced, agreeably to the aforesaid balance, the sum of 838,857 florins *banco*, on which there will be due for interest 30,000 florins.

In addition to which, the loan-office owes the bank, conformable to the same information, the sum of 1,715,000 florins *banco*.

That further, if every thing shall appear as has been stated by the said clerks, and sterling being converted into stock, the treasurer of the city will, in addition, owe to the bank, and for which it was made debtor at the closing of the accounts above alluded to, the sum of

F. 38,358 2 0

And what it owed at the ac-

tual closing of the accounts, 155,314 6 8

Making together, *banco*, F. 193,672 8 8

There is also due, from the said bank, 227,264 2 8, for which bonds were originally

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nally given, but according to the clerks' statement are burnt, but for which the city notwithstanding paid interest annually to the bank.

That it is nevertheless obvious, that the city is responsible for this sum as well as for the whole, as it ought to be considered with respect to it, not only as guarantee, but as actual debtor, to the bank.

That moreover, among other things in the said bank, there has been found in substance all the specie for which accountable receipts have been given, agreeable to the list made out and delivered to the committee of commerce and marine by the cashiers of the bank, and which can, in consequence, be at all times drawn out by the holders of the said receipts, in exchange for them, when it shall please them so to do.

The aforesaid provisional representatives have, therefore, not only taken the requisite and most efficacious measures, that henceforward there shall not be delivered from, nor advanced by, the said bank, contrary to its original institution, any specie whatsoever, by any authority, either as a loan or in any other illegal manner; but also that the said bonds, lodged in the said bank as securities, as aforesaid, shall be liquidated as soon as possible; and generally that

that this city, as debtor to the bank, shall, with all practicable dispatch, discharge in cash the balance of its account with the said bank; which being done, the provisional representatives declare that there can exist no deficiency of any kind soever, and that they will, without delay, take into their serious consideration, and will carry into immediate effect, the means to obtain this end.

The provisional representatives, nevertheless, declare, that this notification is only made to maintain duly the credit of the bank of this city, and to tranquillise the minds of foreigners and the commercial part of its inhabitants. *But they desire by no means to be considered as approving of, or confirming, the use that may have been made of the deposits of the bank, and much less of discharging, by any thing in this proclamation, those who may be reprehensible on that subject.*

Given and published Feb. 5th, 1795, the first year of Batavian liberty. By order of the aforesaid representatives.

G. BRENDER.

A. BRANDIS, Secretary.

D.

Extracts from a Proclamation of the Provisional Representatives of the Commune of Amsterdam.*

“ PHILOSOPHERS of all nations and ages have invariably judged, that when civil dissensions are over, the conquering party has always been guilty of injustice when it has thought worthy of punishment actions which the chiefs of the conquered party have done to maintain their cause, and has in consequence of these principles set on foot a general persecution. Actions which are at all times criminal ; actions which are morally bad, independent of all political relations, and consequently always punishable ; are then the only ones that can, according to the principles of justice be taken into consideration ; are also the only actions which a righteous judge, whose judgment ought not to be directed by any influence of political passions, will esteem criminal and worthy of punishment ; and not those actions which we at present consider as highly pernicious, but which have been committed

* They before styled themselves provisional representatives of the people of Amsterdam : the phrase *commune* was probably adopted in compliance with French forms, which now begin in some measure to prevail.

mitted under the eye, and with the plenary approbation of the preceding government."

" If we reject these principles, there is no longer security for any human action; and let it not be dissimbled, that he who broaches a contrary doctrine, proclaims in effect the right of the strongest, and consequently the favourite right of tyrants."

" It is a great mistake to compare the circumstances of France in the course of her revolution with ours. It was not in France a spirit of revenge for the crimes committed under the old government, which occasioned the repeated scenes of terror that were exhibited; but the violent opposition to the revolution itself, which occasioned the necessity of a proportionable vigilance to crush all conspiracies. But what opposition have we to expect?"

" All political dissensions, all the revolutions that have taken place in this state since its origin, vanish before so interesting a revolution as the present. They were only disputes between party and party; struggles for power, between unprincipled men, in which the people were constantly duped. To-day it is the cause of the people itself in which we labour, in which you all ought to labour. To-day it is not a faction, but the nation herself, who is victori-

ous.

ous. We must direct, therefore, our view, not to the welfare of a few despots, but to the happiness of the whole nation."

The whole of the proclamation breathes a spirit of conciliation and generosity exactly conformable with the above extracts ; and for nobleness of sentiment, sound and liberal policy, and humane, enlightened views, was perhaps never exceeded by any state ordinance that has appeared in the world.

E.

Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between the Republic of France, and the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

Art. 1. THE republic of France acknowledges and guarantees the independence of the republic of the United Provinces, and the abolition of the stadtholderate.

2. There shall be a lasting peace, amity, and good understanding, between the two republics.

3. There shall also be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all the enemies of the respective republics, during the present war.

4. There shall be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against Great Britain for ever.

5. No

5. No treaty shall be entered into with Great Britain, without the consent of the two republics.

6. The French republic shall make no peace with any power whatever, without comprising in it the republic of the United Provinces.

7. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign, twelve ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, for the North-sea and Baltic.

8. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign half the number of troops which the republic shall have on foot.

9. All the forces employed in actual service shall be under the command of French generals. The arrangements for the campaign shall be made in concert: the states-general may send a deputy, who shall sit and have a deliberative voice in the committee of public safety at Paris.

10. All arsenals and ammunition belonging to the republic of the United Provinces shall be restored.

11. From the ratification of the present treaty, restitution shall be made of all the countries and places belonging to the United Provinces, with the exceptions contained in the following articles.

12. Dutch

12. Dutch Flanders, and the right side of the Hondt, Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, shall be reserved by the French republic as indemnities.

13. A French garrison shall be admitted, in peace and war, into the town of Flushing, until other arrangements shall have been decided.

14. The port of Flushing shall be open to the two republics, conformably to the rules laid down in the separate articles attached to this treaty.

15. In case of hostilities on the side of the Rhine, or of Zealand, French garrisons shall be admitted into Breda, Bois le Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

16. At the epoch of a general peace, cession shall be made to the United Provinces of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the cession contained in the 12th article, and in a position most convenient to the republic of the United Provinces.

17. Until the general peace, such a number of French troops shall be stationed in the necessary places as shall be deemed adequate to the defence of them.

18. The navigation of the Scheldt and the Hondt shall be open to the two republics: French and Dutch vessels shall be indiscriminately admitted, under the same conditions.

19. The

19. The French republic gives up to the republic of the United Provinces all the immoveable effects belonging to the house of Orange, and all the moveable property not yet disposed of.

20. As indemnification for the expences of the war, the republic of the United Provinces shall pay to the republic of France one hundred millions of livres; either in specie, or in bills upon foreign powers, as shall be agreed upon.

21. The French republic shall use their good offices with foreign powers in favour of the United Provinces, in order that they may obtain the payment of the sums due to them before the war.

22. No asylum shall be given by the republic of the United Provinces to the French emigrants, and no asylum shall be given by the republic of France to the Orange emigrants.

23. The present treaty shall be ratified within two decades, or sooner if possible.

Concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of May, 1795; afterwards ratified by both the contracting parties.

FINIS.

T. Davison,
White-Friars.

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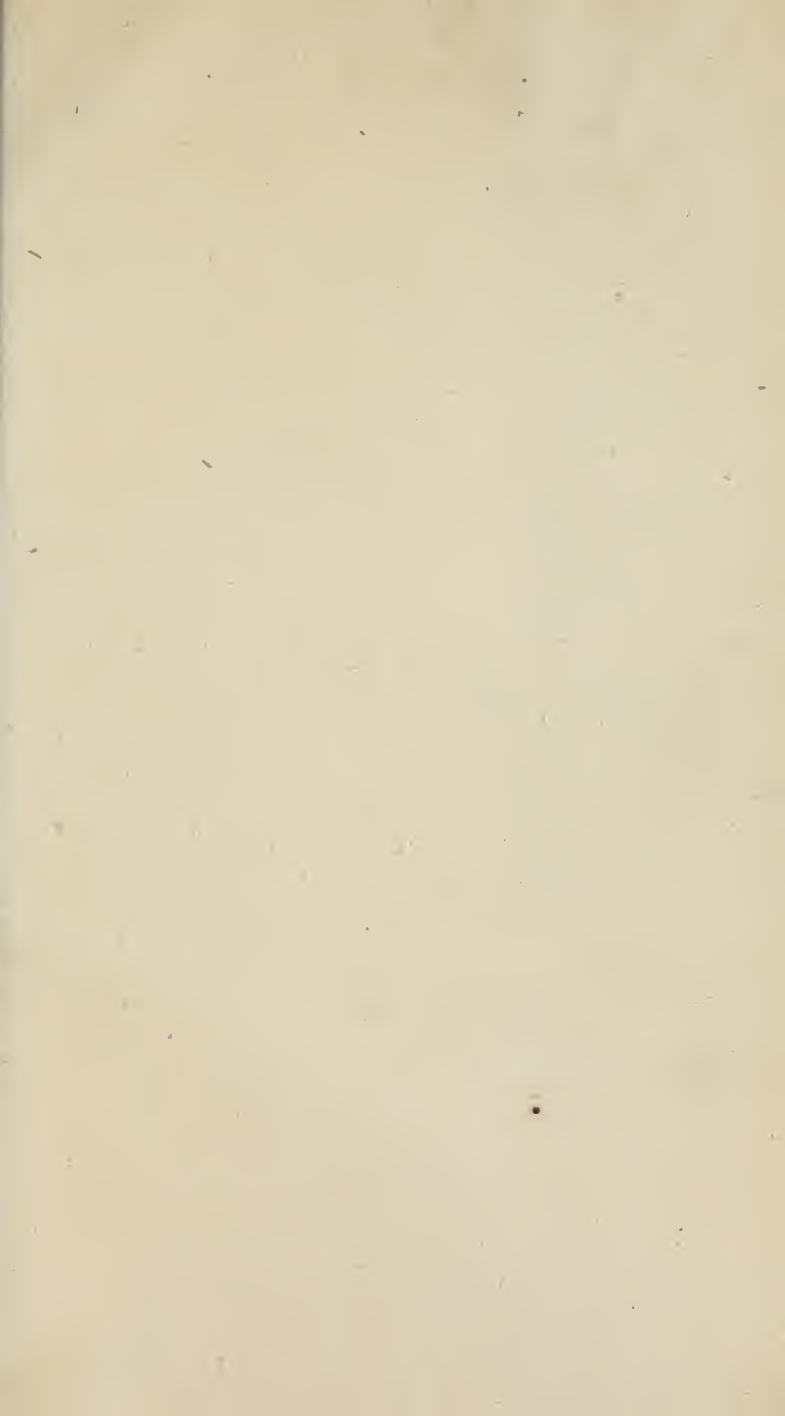
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European Magazine.



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